DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 199 325 UD 021 238

AUTHOR Naidoo, J. C.
TITLE Research on South Asian Women in Canadian Context, 1976-1980.
SPONS AGENCY Indian-Canada Association, Kitchener-Waterloo (Ontario).; Wilfrid Laurier Univ., Waterloo (Ontario).
PUB DATE [80]
NOTE 297p.

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC12 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Adjustment (to Environment); Aspiration; *Cultural Pluralism; Demography; Ethnicity; Fear of Success; *Females; Foreign Countries; Identification (Psychology); Immigrants; *Indians; Racial Attitudes; Role Perception; *Self Concept; Sex Role; Sex Stereotypes; Social Attitudes; Social Science Research; *Sociocultural Patterns
IDENTIFIERS *Canada; East Indians

ABSTRACT

This collection includes ten papers on South Asian (particularly East Indian) women in Canada. The papers were written by the author for presentation at various meetings from 1976 to 1980 and discuss: (1) the author's research on differential role perceptions, religious values, role socialization, and achievement aspirations of East Indian and white Canadian women; (2) the potential contribution of East Indian women to Canadian society; (3) the social psychology of East Indian women in Canada; (4) the way South Asian (Canadian) women perceive themselves, how they perceive other Canadians, and how they are regarded by other Canadians; (5) special problems faced by nonwhite females; (6) the status of social science (especially psychological) research on South Asian women; and (6) the issue of Canadian multiculturalism, as it concerns South Asian minorities. (GC)

****
Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
from the original document. *
****

FEB 1 0 1991

ED199325

RESEARCH ON SOUTH ASIAN WOMEN IN CANADIAN CONTEXT

J. C. Naidoo
Psychology Department
Wilfrid Laurier University
Waterloo, Ontario

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
JOSEPHINE C. NAIDOO

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

UD027288

Acknowledgement

This author acknowledges with gratitude the following sources of funding for the exploratory research of South Asian women reported in this manuscript.

(i) Wilfrid Laurier University short-term research grants.

(ii) Multiculturalism grant obtained under the sponsorship of the India-Canada Association, Kitchener-Waterloo.

(iii) Student Research assistance from the Department of Psychology, Wilfrid Laurier University.

RESEARCH ON WOMEN OF SOUTH ASIAN ORIGINS IN CANADA

Josephine C. Naidoo
Department of Psychology
Wilfrid Laurier University
Waterloo, Ontario

PUBLICATIONS:

A. Chapters in Books

Naidoo, J.C. The East Indian woman in Canadian context: A study in Social Psychology. In K.V. Ujimoto & G. Hirabayashi (Eds.), Visible minorities and multiculturalism: Asians in Canada. Scarborough: Butterworth & Company, 1980.

Naidoo, J.C. Women of South Asian and Anglo-Saxon origins in the Canadian context: Self-perceptions, socialization, achievement aspirations. In C.S. Adamec (Ed.), Sex roles: Origins, influences and implications for women. Montreal: Eden Press, 1980).

Naidoo, J.C. New perspectives on South Asian women in Canada. In N.A. Nyiri and T. Miljan (Eds.), Unity in diversity: Proceedings of interdisciplinary seminars at W.L.U. (Vol. II), Waterloo: W.L.U. Press, 1980.

B. Articles in Refereed Journals

Martin, R.C., Naidoo, J.C., Sheehan, G. Social distance perceptions and simulated hiring behaviours of White Anglo-Saxon students with reference to minority groups in Canada. Submitted to: Human Relations. Under Review.

Naidoo, J.C. Women of South Asian origins: Status of research, problems, issues, new perspectives. Submitted to: Canadian Ethnic Studies. Under Review.

C. Papers Published in Conference Proceedings

Naidoo, J.C. Canadian perceptions on East Indians. In K.V. Ujimoto & G. Hirabayashi (Eds.), Asian Canadians in a multicultural society. Proceedings of the Asian Canadian Symposium III, 1979 (under translation into French).

Naidoo, J.C. The Social Image of South Asian Women in the Canadian Mosaic. In the Proceedings of the Conference on the Integration of South Asians in Canada, Montreal: McGill University, 1979.

Naidoo, J.C. The (East) Indian Woman. Government Document, Multicultural Development, Ministry of Culture & Recreation, 1977.

"INVITED" PAPERS PRESENTED AT PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATION CONFERENCES

Naidoo, J.C. Women of south Asian origin: Status of research, problems, issues, new perspectives. Invited paper presented to the 37th annual convention of the International Council of Psychologists, Henry Chauncey Conference Centre, Educational Testing Service, Princeton, New Jersey, U.S.A., August 29-30, 1979. Symposium Title: Theoretical and Methodological Issues in Cross-Cultural Research on Women: A Panel Discussion and Participant Workshop.

Naidoo, J.C. The perception of South Asian women in Canadian context. Invited poster demonstration and panel participant at an interdisciplinary university-community sponsored conference on: Integration of South Asians in Canadian Society, McGill University, June 2, 1979.

Naidoo, J.C. Canadian perspectives on East Indians in Canada. Sponsored by the Canadian Society for Asian Studies Conference, University of Guelph, Guelph, Ontario, May 23-26, 1978.

Naidoo, J.C. The (East) Indian Woman in the Canadian context: A cross-cultural comparison with Anglo-Saxon women. Invited paper: Conference of the Learned Societies: Division for South Asian Studies, Fredericton, N.B., May 27-29, 1977.

"CONTRIBUTED" PAPERS PRESENTED AT PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATION CONFERENCES

Naidoo, J.C. Perceptions of South Asian women in Canadian context. Canadian Psychological Association, Ottawa, June 6-8, 1978.

Naidoo, J.C. Problems of acculturation of East Indian women and children. First Congress on Education. Sponsored by the Canadian School Trustees' Association, Toronto, June 17-21, 1978.

Naidoo, J.C. Assertiveness training and cross-cultural perspectives: South Asian women in Canada. Paper presented at the Canadian Psychological Association: Institute on Women, Ottawa, June 6, 1978.

OTHER RELEVANT ACTIVITIES: Scholarly Papers 1977-80 (University & Community)

Naidoo, J.C. Reflections on research on Non-Western cultures with reference to South Asians in Canada. Invited lecture/discussion, Psychology 100, University of Waterloo, March 17, 1980.

Naidoo, J.C. A critical appraisal of two controversial films on racism in South Africa ("Last Grave at Dimbaza" and "Black Man Alive"). Invited presentation, Sociology 100, W.L.U., February 7, 1980.

Naidoo, J.C. Research on East Indian women in Canada: Self-image, coping, adjustment. Invited presentation, Canadian Asian Woman's Society, University of Guelph, July 17, 1979.

Naidoo, J.C. Assimilation and adaptation of South Asian women into the Canadian mosaic. Invited seminar, Department of Political Science, York University, Toronto, July 26, 1979.

Naidoo, J.C. East Indian Women in Canada. Invited paper: 18th Interdisciplinary Research Seminar, Wilfrid Laurier University, February 9, 1978.

Naidoo, J.C. Participant Round Table Discussion on Topic: Multiculturalism. Colloqium on Social Research & Social Policy, Department of Sociology, University of Toronto, January 13-14, 1978.

Naidoo, J.C. Panel member of topic: Immigration & racial prejudice, World Community Week, sponsored by WLU Festival Committee, January 30 - February 3, 1978.

Naidoo, J.C. Indian women immigrants & changing values. Invited public symposium: Indian immigrants in SW Pennsylvania: Changing values & images. Sponsored by the Department of Religious Studies, University of Pittsburg, Pa., May 4-6, 1978.

Naidoo, J.C. Multiculturalism. Invited panel sponsored by Waterloo County English and Language Arts Asocition, May 25, 1978.

Naidoo, J.C. East meets West: Women & World Society. Invited paper presented to the South African National Council of Women, Durban, South Africa, July 12, 1978.

Naidoo, J.C. The Causes of Prejudice in Global Perspective. Paper presented at the National Conference of the National Association of Canadians of Origins in India (N.A.C.O.I.), Toronto, September 30, 1978.

Naidoo, J.C. Race Relations in the Kitchener-Waterloo area. Invited paper, Sociology 226 RE2.: Race, Culture, & the Third World, Renison College, University of Waterloo. Presented at Preston Public Library, Preston, Ontario, October 19, 1978.

Discussant: The Canadian Japanese Experience (Japanese Centennial Year), Psychology Department, Lunch Series, 1978.

Naidoo, J.C. The (East) Indian Woman: Her potential contribution to Canadian Society: Recommendations. Invited paper: Conference on Indians in Toronto, Don Mills, Toronto, May 14-15, 1977.

Invited panelist: University of Guelph continuing Education T.V. Series, Channel 12. Topic: Options for the Future of Mankind, 1977.

Newspaper Reports on: Study of South Asian Women in Canada:

Kitchener-Waterloo Record, February 8, 1978. A look at East Indian Women: Adapting to Life in Canada & Tolerance, Understanding Said Vital to Integration.

The Globe and Mail, June 8, 1978. Women's reserve misinterpreted: Quiet Asians seen as stupid, study says.

The Natal Mercury (Republic of South Africa), July 13, 1978. We Have to be Open to Things That are Different.

A. Conference Presentations, 1980

Naidoo, J.C. Multiculturalism and South Asian minorities in Canada. (Poster Session) American Psychological Association: Community Psychology, Montreal, September, 1980.

Naidoo, J.C. South Asian women in the Canadian mosaic: Contemporary trends. (Paper Presentation) Canadian Psychological Association: Women's Institute, Calgary, June 1980.

Naidoo, J.C. Integration and Assimilation of South Asians in Canada. (Poster display and panel presentation.) Learned Societies: Canadian Asian Studies, Montreal, May, 1980.

B. Community Presentations, 1980

Naidoo, J.C. South Asians and multiculturalism: A comparative study of Canada, Britain and South Africa. Invited paper: National Association of Canadians of origins in India, Toronto, April 13, 1980.

Naidoo, J.C. Apartheid in South Africa. Invited Seminar: Co-operation for Development Committee, Kitchener, April 15, 1980.

Naidoo, J.C. South Asian women in Canada. Invited Seminar: University Women's Association, Waterloo, April 28, 1980.

C. Current Research Activities

1. Ethnic Perceptions of Public School Children (data currently under analysis).

2. South Asian Women in Canada: Self-Perceptions, Achievement Aspirations, Intercultural Image and Acculturation (Theoretical and Applied Aspects). Funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada and the Multiculturalism Directorate, Secretary of State, Ottawa - currently in progress in Metro Toronto.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title of Paper	Page
1. The East Indian Woman Intercultural Seminar: East Indians in Toronto Toronto, December 1976	1
2. The East Indian Woman: Her Potential Contributions to Canadian Society: Recommendations Conference of the National Association of Canadians of Origins in India Toronto, May 1977	19
3. The East Indian Woman in Canadian Context: A Study in Social Psychology Learned Societies: South Asian Studies Fredericton, New Brunswick, May 1977	50
4. New Perspectives on South Asian Women in Canada Interdisciplinary Research Seminar, Wilfrid Laurier University Waterloo, Ontario, February 1978	87
5. Canadian Perceptions of South Asian Women Immigrants in Ontario Conference of the Canadian Society for Asian Studies Guelph, Ontario, May 1978	119
6. Women of South Asian and Anglo Saxon Origins in the Canadian Context: Self Perceptions, Socialization, Achievement Aspirations Canadian Psychological Association Annual Meetings: Institute on Women Ottawa, June 1978	152
7. Being Non-White and Female National Association of Canadians of Origins in India Toronto, September 1978	183
8. The Social Image of South Asian Women in the Canadian Mosaic Conference on: Integration of South Asians in Canadian Society, McGill University Montreal, June 1979	203

Table of Contents (Cont'd):

Title of Paper	Page
9. Women of South Asian Origins: Status of Research, Problems Issues, New Perspectives Convention of the International Council of Psychologists Princeton, New Jersey, August 1979	212
10. Multiculturalism and South Asian Minorities in Canada Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association: Community Psychology Montreal, September 1980	247

THE EAST INDIAN WOMAN

by

Josephine C. Naidoo, Ph.D.
Psychology Department
Wilfrid Laurier University, Waterloo

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for giving me the opportunity to share with you some of my research findings and inviting me to participate in this attempt at understanding some similarities and differences between people of various cultures in this country.

INTRODUCTION

I should mention, ladies and gentlemen, at the outset, that although I have an East Indian background, I have never been to India; rather I was born and raised in South Africa. However, I was raised within an East Indian sub-culture, tempered with western culture and to some extent with African culture. But I always retained my interest in East Indian culture, although I left South Africa many years ago. Recently I have tried to use my empirical training and my social-psychological knowledge to research selected aspects of East Indian culture and related problems.

Text of the Keynote address given on December 1, 1976 at the intercultural seminar on 'EAST INDIANS IN TORONTO'.

Sponsored by: Indian Immigrant Aid Services, Toronto and Ontario Ministry of Culture & Recreation.

I commenced the study in an exploratory kind of way looking at the role perceptions, role socialization, and achievement aspirations of middle class women of East Indian origin as compared with a control group of middle class Canadian women of Anglo-Saxon origin. My interest arose from the differences I perceived in the dichotomization of male-female characteristics in North American culture which contrasted markedly with what I had experienced in the subculture in which I had been raised. Contrary to the stereotype of the women in East Indian culture, I had not experienced the dichotomization of male-female characteristics that typifies attitudes towards males and females in this culture, in particular, with reference to achievement aspirations. As frequently observed in the literature on the psychology of women, the girl in North America who is raised in a traditional manner is expected to be less aggressive, less assertive, than her male counterpart, and she is also expected to be less of an achiever, less educated, less achievement oriented. This has not been my socialization experience, nor has it been the experience of, at least, a nucleus of middle class East Indian women now living in Canada. I had experienced that although most middle class East Indian women are raised within a traditional context, sheltered, and protected, restricted in their freedom outside the home and socialized to be subdued and gentle, these restrictions do not extend to achievement in education. In my experience girls were encouraged to aspire for higher education as much as their male peers. Consequently, I set out to research whether in fact this experience was true of a larger sampling of women of East Indian background with cultural origins and heritage in the East Indian subcontinent.

At this time, I have collected an extensive amount of data from over 100 East Indian women and I am bringing to closure my collection of data from Canadian women matched on the basis of social class. Data analysis, therefore, is in progress, though incomplete. Hence, the observations, reflections, and insights I hope to offer today should be viewed with caution, and within the perspective of the exploratory nature of the research. I have attempted to inspect and interpret the data with objectivity and sensitivity to the many ethnic groups that I will be discussing this morning.

BASIC FOCUS OF THE ADDRESS

The chairman has already mentioned the focus of my study; I have addressed myself to the question: What kinds of social, cultural, and psychological problems does the woman of East Indian origin share with other immigrant women; and what kinds of problems are unique to her? How does she meet the challenges, conflicting cultural values, and expectations that confront her? My review of the literature has included readings on Italian women, Portuguese women, Japanese and Chinese American women and West Indian women.

ORIGINS & CHARACTER OF THE POPULATIONS STUDIED

There is a degree of relative uniformity among other immigrants that does not exist among East Indians. For example, Italian and Portuguese immigrants originate largely from a single country and many come from particular areas within the home country, i.e., from rural areas. East Indians, on the other hand, originate from different parts of the huge sub-continent; they come from different parts of the world. The populations I sampled originate in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh,

Uganda, Guyana, Trinidad and Sri Lanka. Consequently, there exists enormous diversity in countries of origin, in urban, rural or village background as compared to the relative similarities among people from other immigrant groups. Further, people from the European countries are primarily Christian in background; people of East Indian background may be Hindus, Sikhs, Moslems, Christians, Buddhists and sects within these larger religious groupings. Then there is a difference in educational background. My reading indicates that people coming from Italian and Portuguese background, at least in the case of women, have received less formal education than sizable proportions of East Indian women. Many immigrant European women seemingly pursued lower status occupations on first coming to Canada presumably because of lack of formal education and knowledge of English. The education level of East Indian women varies enormously. There exists a nucleus of women who are highly educated, both in Western as well as Eastern culture. Then there is a group of women who are well educated in Indian culture - Indian arts, religion, music, and so on. And finally there are people who may/may not speak English as their primary home language and who have received less formal education in both cultures.

THE PRIVACY CHARACTERISTIC OF EAST INDIAN CULTURE

One characteristic which East Indian women share with women in other Asian groups is extreme privacy about their attitudes, values, and relationships. Japanese and Chinese students of mine whom I have encouraged to study their particular ethnic groups - have also discovered the extreme privacy of these cultures. Questions, which in the North American culture investigators would not hesitate to ask, for example:

questions relating to family relationships - to how boys and girls behave - to how one perceives oneself - questions and problems about which people speak openly in North American culture, are considered extremely private in the East Indian culture, and Eastern cultures more generally. Another finding was that, contrary to findings for Italian and Portuguese samples, East Indians do not necessarily respond better to their own in-group ethnic interviewers. Studies of Portuguese and Italians indicate that in-group ethnic interviewers are more successful in eliciting valid and reliable responses than out-group ethnic interviewers. This was generally not true of East Indians. They tended to respond more readily to out-group interviewers. Presumably, they preferred talking with "strangers" because they felt more secure about the privacy of their lives. Further, there are many issues East Indian people simply do not talk about openly. For example, I attempted to obtain data regarding attitudes toward inter-ethnic marriage. In talking to respondents I found that they tended to make judgements about feelings based on overt behaviors, because people do not readily verbalize and express their feelings. Some questions respondents seemed to view as threatening; questions, again, that would not be considered threatening in North American culture. For example, there is a tendency not to discriminate between preferential ratings of mother and father. On questions such as: which parent did you admire more, mother or father; which parent did you want to please more, mother or father; respondents tended to give the same ranking to both parents. The East Indian cultural pattern appears to socialize individuals to please, like, and admire both parents equally well. Many women were taken aback

when asked to make an analysis of home situations. Questions requiring critical assessment of family relationships, preferential treatment of children by parents, reflection on the self, induced apprehension and uncertainty in respondents. Such behavior is understandable within the context of Indian culture which is holistic in its approach to life, incorporating life events as they occur, and "flowing" with these events. By contrast, North American culture is critical, analytical and discriminating in its approach to similar life relationships and events. Personal contact, allowing respondents to verbalize their fears, moving from an indirect to a more direct approach in eliciting responses, talking about individual anxieties regarding the effects of empirical research for the larger community, were approaches that contributed to rapport and cooperation. Mailed questionnaires yielded negligible response. Telephone discussions served as an excellent step-in-the-door technique.

HOME CULTURE FAMILY STRUCTURE

The family structure from which many immigrant women originate is much the same as that of the East Indian culture. For example, many immigrant women came from family-centered systems where loyalty to the family is important, father is invariably a benevolent authoritarian, children are expected to contribute to the family once they are working, mother is powerful in her own domain and usually does not work outside the home. Of 89 East Indian female respondents whose data have been analysed thus far, much the same pattern was found. Indian women see themselves as part of the family circle rather than as individuals; they had warm, close, happy relationships with their families and except for

a small nucleus of respondents, most mothers did not work outside their homes, and those who did were mainly in professional occupations. Respondents perceived mother as the primary homemaker; although most respondents' mothers had domestic help in the home. One respondent said about domestics, "you name it and they did it." Respondents, therefore, came from homes in which women were largely freed from the heavier domestic role that characterizes the woman's role in North American culture.

Father was perceived as the dominant figure in the family but as stated earlier, respondents tended not to discriminate between father and mother. They admired both, they tried to please both, they were fond of both equally well. This may be interpreted as a cultural expression or perhaps respondents felt threatened about making such distinctions.

SEX ROLE SOCIALIZATION

With regard to role socialization, respondents perceived many dimensions of similarity for boys and girls. For example, boys and girls were expected to be equally loyal to family, obedient to family, concerned about others, respectful. Girls felt that they had received equal attention from parents as boys and that they were equally important to their parents.

It was in the domain of protection, control of emotions, responsibility for actions, freedom to move outside the home unaccompanied and decisions about important events in the life of the girl that most respondents reported clear differences. "More" was expected of, and in relation to girls - more control, more discipline, more protection.

This pattern is similar to that of many other immigrant cultures and is bound up with the important place of virginity, being "good" and "moral." As with other cultures such as the Italian, the honour of one's daughters is linked to family honour. A child is essentially a member of a large family unit and every honour and dishonour extends to ths unit, to a total family honour.

To the question "what did 'being a girl' mean to you during adolescence?," most respondents singled out the restriction on their movements outside the home. On the whole, no resentment about this was expressed; only one respondent said: "Being born a girl is hell! Terrible to be a girl!

On the whole the negative aspects of the restrictions that they experienced were balanced by a feeling of being "special," "loved by people," "getting attention," some respondents wrote: "I was pleased to be a girl!"

ACHIEVEMENT SOCIALIZATION: FEAR OF SUCCESS

A few years ago, an American psychologist, Matina Horner, identified a significant experience of American female students. She found that even female students who were competing successfully in college and university, feared success, and she linked this fear with a fear of social rejection. In other words, these girls although they were competing successfully at school, feared that they may become unattractive as dating partners, may have poor chances of marriage, and may feel inferior as career women. I wondered about the dynamics of achievement aspirations in a culture where there is no dating system, where every girl's marriage is almost assured because part of her father's duty is

to find a spouse for her and where physical beauty is not such a major component of the marriage requirement as it is in North American culture. In other words, if women experienced no threat regarding their potential on the "marriage market," how did this affect their achievement motivation; are there differences in their achievement-related responses when compared to North American samples?

To study these questions, respondents were asked about their achievement socialization during adolescence and told stories about a female student in a success-oriented setting. The achievement socialization questions included: what parents expected of girls at school, whether girls were rewarded for high achievement, whether boys were given more opportunity to pursue education than girls, etc. The findings indicate that as adolescents the girls were very ambitious, they had high aspirations at school, they enjoyed school, sometimes imagined becoming someone famous, their parents expected girls and boys to perform equally well and their parents rewarded both boys and girls for high achievement. The one dimension which stands out as a difference in the achievement socialization of boys and girls was on the items: encouragement and discouragement to explore the environment. Adolescent girls were less encouraged, and more discouraged from exploring their environment. This finding ties in with the general restriction and confinement surrounding the adolescent girl in the culture.

Respondents asserted further that there existed a deep respect for learning and education in their homes; they were encouraged to model their behaviour on the better educated people in the family. No respondent had ever heard or ever experienced "fear of success" because of

fear of social rejection, being unattractive as a marriage partner, i.e., the concept of "fear of success" was unknown to them. Respondents' stories about the achievement-related situation generally reflect and confirm this observation.

Respondents' stories centre on family satisfaction and joy at the girl's success, a bright future is predicted and a positive attitude toward the girl's career is taken.

LANGUAGE & COMMUNICATION

With regard to language and communication problems among East Indian women this research revealed similarities to reported findings for immigrant women more generally. Apart from those women who speak the English language fluently, there appears to be two major problem areas:

(i) Women who speak almost no English, and who understandably fear "moving out" to learn the language at local classes. These women have similar experiences to Italian and Portuguese mothers who do not speak English, i.e., the mothers do not know enough English to speak easily to their children; and their children, who resist learning the original home language, since they want to learn English and identify with their peers, cannot communicate in turn. Consequently, there is a breakdown in mother-child communication and a "generation gap" is created. For the Indian mother this must be a profoundly threatening and isolating experience because the bond between mother and child is viewed as basically crucial in the culture.

(ii) Women who consider English their primary language, and who speak

the language well at a concrete level but less well at an abstract level and at a level of generalization. These women should also be encouraged to attend English classes, but educators must be sensitive to the fact that these women consider themselves "English speaking," may be unaware of the different levels at which the language may be spoken, and may be affronted if openly confronted with the prospect of attending English classes.

INTERCULTURAL PERCEPTIONS OF WOMEN

East Indian and Canadian respondents were asked about their perceptions of one another. Three questions were asked as follows:

How do women of East Indian origin (or Canadian) "come across" to you? What do you like about them, and what do you dislike about them?

In general, in talking to East Indians the indirect approach was used, i.e., the respondent was asked how East Indians perceived Canadian women before they were asked the more direct question: How do you perceive Canadian women? Overall, East Indians have a positive attitude towards Canadian women. They felt that while at first Canadian women come across as cold and unfriendly giving the impression that relationships were superficial, they stated that with time they experienced Canadian women as much friendlier than originally thought. The respondents disliked generalizations made by some white Canadians that Indians are dirty, don't speak English, etc. They also disliked the overemphasis on physical beauty in the North American culture. Respondents said that most East Indians experience the directness shown by Canadian men and women as rather threatening, especially in the case of women,

because such behaviours are not feminine at all in the Indian sense. American born Chinese and Japanese women report similar experiences. They find that as they become acculturated to American demands and expectations that women be assertive and aggressive, they are viewed almost as "foreigners" in their own particular sub-culture, again because the display of such attributes is contrary to the tradtional expectations of the woman's behavior. They experience a conflict between trying to emulate the model of behaviour created by American women and what feminine behaviour implies in their own sub-culture.

Indians quite often compared aspects of their home culture with Canadian culture, e.g., Indians felt that they were much more secure in relation to their spouses and families than are Canadian women; they felt that while Indian mannerisms may be abrupt, often Indians were more sincere than Canadians, and they felt that girls in Indian culture develop an inner sense of beauty, not merely the external aspect, which they perceive as over-emphasized in this culture.

Courtesy of my students, I distributed an identical questionnaire to Canadian volunteer respondents who readily responded to the same three basic questions: How do East Indian women "come across" to you; What do you <u>like</u> and <u>dislike</u> about them?

There was a duality aspect to many Canadian responses. For example, Canadians tended to like the East Indian woman's quiet, polite, shy manner but this liking moved to seeing her as cold, distant, aloof and unfriendly. A small percentage of the sample made comments such as: "they hold their noses a bit too high," "they think they are superior." Again, Canadians tended to like the Indian woman's devotion to her hus-

band and children, but this moved to a dislike, in their perception, of her dependency on her husband and her place behind a man.

Canadian dislikes followed the stereotyped pattern. They said Indians were dirty. One woman wrote: "I'd like to hand them some shampoo and Dial soap" and then she added: "I guess that is WASP[1] prejudice!" They did not like Indians wearing their traditional dress; they think Indians shout "discrimination" too soon; they dislike Indians speaking in their own language, since they feel Indians should speak English if they live in Canada. Both cultural subgroups, however, made statements which indicated to this speaker that people realized there exists a lack of contact and communication. Some Canadians said that there was nothing they liked or disliked about Indian women. I am uncertain whether this comment implies "indifference" or "can't say" because I "don't know."

HETEROSEXUAL RELATIONSHIPS, DATING, INTER-ETHNIC MARRIAGE

An attempt was made to find out about the attitudes of East Indians toward dating, marriage and heterosexual relationships. In the traditional Indian social system, there is no dating, girls are carefully protected, virginity is overwhelmingly important and, as stated earlier, the child's honour is bound up with the father and family honour. Traditionally, marriage was by arrangement; there are few so-called "love marriages." In Indian thinking marriage cements families and ensures family continuity. The romantic notion of marriage prevailing in this culture comprises only a minor aspect of the Indian

---

[1]White, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant

concept of marriage. Respondents reported that when Indian women enter the Canadian society they are confused at the heterosexual patterns they perceive; they are not prepared and are even shocked by the new heterosexual attitudes and behaviours confronting them. How do East Indians react to these new values and how do they resolve the differences in the two sets of cultural expectations? There was a range and a diversity in responses. Some Indians would stay as "Indians" as long as possible. They take their children back to India periodically so as to give the children an opportunity to learn Indian norms, values, and behaviours. Other people are somewhat more permissive but maintain control over their children's behaviours, and then there are those people who follow the Canadian pattern as they perceive it, i.e., a much more permissive pattern involving dating and freer heterosexual relationships. With regard to inter-ethnic marriage, again there was diversity in responses. Some people attempt to marry as Indian, Indian style. Other people accept an inter-ethnic marriage, sometimes with reservations; others overtly seem to accept it but respondents claim that these people experience an inner hurt and reservation that they do not openly verbalize. Since people do not openly speak about their feelings regarding inter-ethnic marriage, respondents resort to making judgements in terms of whether friends are invited to the marriage ceremony, how father and mother behave at the events, whether the father stays away in protest, and overt features of that nature. People felt that the contrasts between the Canadian concept of marriage and the Indian accounted for Indian attitudes. Thus, for example, in the East Indian concept, marriage means continuity of family; parents feel they gain a child in

marriage. In the Canadian concepc, marriage is private and individual; Indian parents feel that in an inter-ethnic marriage they lose a child. They also feel that there is a difference in interpersonal relationships and communications created by an inter-ethnic marriage. Indians report that they do not feel the same closeness to a Canadian spouse in an inter-ethnic marriage as they do towards the ethnic partner. It was felt that the ethnic spouse should make a more conscious attempt to integrate the Canadian spouse into the ethnic group. Finally, respondents felt that since Indian parents view playing a role in the child's marriage a privilege and a joy, when children went their own individual ways and chose their own partners that they were depriving parents of a very joyous activity in their lives.

There was consensus that at present few models of inter-ethnic marriage exist. So, too, there are few models on how to raise children in the Canadian setting with its different view of heterosexual relationships. The feeling was that younger people with small children would have more time to think through how they were going to handle conflicting values about heterosexual relationships in the two cultures. With time more adequate models of heterosexual behaviour and inter-ethnic marriage would evolve.

Informants stated that Indian males may date Canadian women but tended to marry Indian women and seem to prefer them, because as they perceived it, Indian women are more stable, have a more permanent concept of marriage, and are more dependable. Indian men feel more secure in relating to Indian women, escpecially with respect to their loyalty. On the whole, there is little desertion of Indian women by Indian males

in preference for Canadian women. Informants talked quite openly about the fact that Indian men are not socialized to handle dating situations as there is no dating behaviour in the Indian social system, nor are they socialized to handle pre-marital sex. Consequently, Canadian women who date Indians, do complain about inappropriate behaviours by Indian males in dating settings. Canadian women find Indian men "too demanding" as informants put it, and they may not continue the dating relationship.

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

May I bring closure to this address with three concluding comments:

(i) My readings, study, observation and experience lead me to believe that it is important to retain selected aspects of both old and new values and traditions for the wholesome evolution and integration of the personality. Those values which are perceived by a people as critical to the inner self, the sense of identity, and personal worth, should be nurtured and preserved for a healthy evolving "new" self, within the host culture. People cannot be expected to, nor should they simply abandon values and philosophies basic to their sense of "being" in too short a period of time as occurred in the case of Canadian Indians. I have been a member of a minority group all my life and in my perception the gradual evolution in adapting and reconstructing the inner self as people move from home to host culture is a psychologically sounder process than rapid change and abandonment of values that are profoundly meaningful to the inner self. The

latter process may well produce disintegration of the inner self with resultant negative features for the minority group itself and the whole culture.

(ii) There is an urgent need for more contact and communication between ethnic "newcomers" and the larger Canadian Society at a deeper, more meaningful level, than that of ethnic food and folk dancing. The diversity of values, philosophies, and interpretations of life that immigrant people bring with them implies a potentially rich contribution to the host culture. As is commonly recognized, however, the visibility factor - both physical and behavioural - create social contrast effects, i.e., these differences are exaggerated, and socially distant relationships tend to arise between immigrant persons and people in the larger society. Even small behavioural differences may generate social distance, e.g., people who have not been socialized to greet by shaking hands but rather by joining the hands together as in Indian culture, understandably may not have acquired the kinds of "messages" (confidence, friendship, etc.), communicated in the handshake by people socialized to greet in this manner; Indian students accustomed to sitting in upright cross-legged position on the floor, may adopt the same position on a chair. Both behaviours have come to my attention as irritating to people outside the Indian culture. Unless such seemingly simple behavioural differences are viewed in perspective, they may become exaggerated and a basis for strained relationships.

(iii) Finally there is a greal deal of talent, intelligence, and energy

among the East Indian women that the reported research has barely tapped. The Canadian interviewers employed in this study were impressed with the respondents they met. It remains for those of us who are concerned about ethnic groups and their contribution to Canadian society to assist in mobilizing and channelling these attributes towards promoting the creative genius of this great country and the "just" society.

Thank you very much.

The East Indian Woman: Her Potential Contribution to Canadian Society: Recommendations

A paper presented at the Conference of the National Association of Canadians of Origins in India

Conference Title: INDIANS IN TORONTO,

Toronto, Canada, May 14-15, 1977

Introductory Comments:

At this critical point in the history of Canadian unity, the fullest participation and active commitment of all segments of the population to Canada, Canadian institutions, Canadian society and culture, is an issue of urgent dimensions. Many women of Indian origin now living in Canada are engaged in productive roles in this country and among Canadian people; but many more can, and should be attracted to fuller involvement in the larger society. My address today covers three items. It:

(i) examines briefly the Indian woman's place in traditional perspective

(ii) reports empirical findings related to the Indian woman's self-perceptions, based on an in-depth survey of over 200 women of Indian and Anglo-Saxon origin living in Ontario, Canada, matched by residential location* (see Tables 1 & 2)

(iii) analyzes the reported data in the context of the question: What is the potential contribution of Indian women to Canadian society? and recommends ways of increasing and accelerating the realization of this potential.

The objectives of this Conference, I understand, are to make frank appraisal of the Indian community. to look at the collective potential of this community, to "recharge our own batteries" by boosting

---

*Generalizations about East Indians in Canada on the basis of this research should be very cautious, until further studies have been conducted indicating that such generalizations are warranted.
Cities in which the research was conducted are unidentified to respect complete anonymity of participants.

morale, and to critically assess our role in, and our contribution to this country. I have approached my address in this light. Tables of data illustrating findings and interpretations presented in this address will be made available in the workshop entitled: Indian women in Canadian Society. Questions about the research and alternate interpretations of findings will also be handled at that time.

The Indian Woman in Traditional Perspective:

"Woman is pure and noble." Traditional India has always accorded woman a high place, and indeed equality. "Man and woman are the two wheels of a cart...man and woman are the two halves of a whole." Equality meant equal but different, and the complementary nature of male and female elements was stressed in theory and practice in the ancient thinking of India (Cormack, 1961; 1974). The male-female concept "in the spirit of the Vedas" has suffered neglect and corruption over the centuries in India - the complementary "idea" has been worshipped, says Margaret Cormack, American social scientist and scholar of Indian culture, the "real" has been neglected. Complementariness has usually involved the assumption of male superiority and the subjection of women. Empirical evidence for this contention was identified in the present study. Respondents, whether of Hindu, Muslim, or Christian background, asserted that the male-female relationship as they understood and experienced it within the broader Indian culture context ranged from "different and equal" to "different and male superior" (or "different and female inferior"). However, a considerable proportion of the women (47.6%) claimed that in actual practice a "different but equal" relationship between males and females influenced their lives most. The

meaning of the word "woman" in the Indian culture was perceived as distinctly "kind", "clean", "useful"; but it was also perceived as distinctly "inferior", and only somewhat "good" and "wise" on scales of bipolar adjective opposites, such as: "good-bad", "inferior-superior", "wise-foolish", etc.

Traditionally three concepts of Hindu thought influenced the Indian woman's life: Karma (fate, destiny), Dharma (doing one's duty according to the rules of one's religion), and Varna (doing one's duty according to caste function). The data revealed that the concept of Karma and Dharma influenced the women's lives "strongly or very strongly" in 57.1% and 62.9% of the cases respectively; the concept of Varna had "little influence". Deities, saints, prophets, as models for emulation in the women's lives, had a "strong influence" only on a minority of women (18.1%).

Role Perceptions:

The advent of the women's "liberation movement" in the western world triggered off a series of studies revolving about the age-old question of what kinds of behaviours are socially appropriate for men and women. An extensive survey of how ideology shapes women's lives conducted by American sociologist, Jean Lipman-Blumen, published in the Scientific American, January, 1972, attracted my attention. Perhaps not surprisingly, she reported that the sex-role ideology, i.e., the system of beliefs regarding the appropriate behavior of women with respect to men acquired during childhood and adolescence, guided the adult woman's self perceptions, life goals, educational and occupational aspirations. The Lipman-Blumen study was conducted on the wives of graduate students

in the Boston area. In her study 27% of the women adhered to a category she labelled "traditional" ideology and 73% held a "contemporary" ideology. According to the traditional view the female role revolves about the belief that a woman's primary responsibilities are home-making and child rearing, men are responsible for financial support of family, women with children should not expect to have a career. The contemporary view is based on the belief that women should be as free as men to pursue educational and occupational goals; that men and women should share equally in responsibilities inside and outside the home.

Similar questions have rarely been asked of immigrant women of non-western origin, living on the North American continent. The present study posed the questions: How does the contemporary Indian woman view herself? What are her beliefs about role division in the home, male dominance, responsibility for children and household chores, women's education and work outside the home? What would she like to accomplish in her life, and how do these aspirations differ from those of women in her family in the home country?

The picture of the Indian woman's role perceptions emerging from this study is more complex than findings reported by Lipman-Blumen for the American sample. Specifically, the women's beliefs about their role in life show a complementary interaction between traditional and contemporary expectations for women. Thus the data reveal a slight belief in role division and male protection, but a strong belief that the responsibility for household chores should be shared even where a woman works outside the home primarily for her own fulfillment, rather than to supplement the family income (79.0%). The resistance to sole responsi-

bility for household chores may be understood in the context that 72.2% of the respondents report that their mothers had domestic help, 50.0% had full time help. Respondents, therefore, came from homes in which women were largely freed from the heavier domestic role that characterizes the woman's role in North American culture. Further, the data show a strong belief in the woman's ability, and in opportunity for education and careers for married women, even where they have children (82.0%). Respondents felt that women were capable of assuming positions over men, making their own decisions about voting, and sharing equally in decision-making in the family. However, the respondents show a decided traditional note with regard to children. There is considerable feeling that the natural mother is best for the child, that a mother with young children should not work outside the home, and a strong belief that even good day care centres cannot take the place of the mother in caring for the child (77.1%). On the somewhat humorous side, 87.6% believe that a man is not justified in marrying a second time should a woman fail to produce a child, nor do they believe as Indian women once did, that the ideal woman is "obedient" first to her father, then to her husband, and then to her sons. However, 65.8% do feel that women should maintain a physically attractive appearance for males (see Table 3).

Sense of Accomplishment:

Lipman-Blumen (1972) defines three categories of mode of achievement adopted by women in her study: direct, balanced, and vicarious. Women who prefer the direct mode tend to satisfy their achievement needs predominantly through their own efforts; those who choose the balanced mode place an equal weight on their husband's accomplishments and on

their own; and those who choose the vicarious mode fulfill their achievement needs predominantly through the accomplishments of their husbands.

Lipman-Blumen, on the basis of her study on graduate student wives, presents data which indicates that the direct mode of achievement was preferred by one-third of the women who shared a contemporary view of life, whereas it was preferred by only one-sixth of the women with the traditional viewpoint of life. As might be expected, 76% of those women with the traditional ideology compared to 54% of those with the contemporary viewpoint adhered to the vicarious mode of achievement. It is interesting to note with reference to this study, that relatively few women seemed to prefer the balanced mode of achievement in which the accomplishments of both husband and wife carry equal weight (16% contemporary, and 7% traditional).

As already discussed, in terms of role perceptions the nature of the sample tested appears to be complementary, reflecting a combination of traditional and contemporary characteristics. Following the Lipman-Blumen procedure, questions pertaining to the respondents' sense of accomplishment outside the home were posed and an attempt was made to trace the development of their sense of achievement aspiration from home to host country.

Most Indian women choose the vicarious mode of achievement (52.5%), i.e., their sense of accomplishment outside their home is mostly fulfilled by the husband's achievements, but they do express a need to accomplish something on their own. 26.7% chose the balanced mode of achievement, i.e., their sense of accomplishment is fulfilled

only when both husband and wife accomplish equally, and a sizeable minority (13.4%) chose the direct mode, i.e., they feel fulfilled mostly by their own achievements, though they also need to feel that the husband is accomplishing something. Only a few respondents chose the extremely contemporaneous position, i.e., fulfilment completely on the basis of one's own outside activities (2.9%). (See Table 4)

Changes in Achievement Aspirations:

An attempt was made to examine evolution and changes in the women's sense of achievement. In response to appropriate questions, respondents maintained that the sense of achievement generally shown by women in the family circle in India was traditional - related to roles as mother, wife, home arts, some outside activities. However, the sense of achievement encouraged in respondents by their parents moved from traditional to balanced-contemporary, with a clear component related to seeking higher education, a career or stable occupation, earning money and status. This pattern is endorsed by the women as the sense of achievement they experienced most of their lives.

A further change is reported on coming to Canada and in their present lives. The women find that their present sense of achievement is traditional and homebound with some outside activities. They feel this is common to other Indian women in Canada of their acquaintance. Dissatisfaction with this situation is revealed in questions probing the sense of achievement the women want for themselves, think is the most satisfying, and encourage in their daughters. The data show clearly that the women want a more balanced sense of achievement for themselves, in which they may achieve at activities of equal weight inside and out-

side the home. They view the balanced mode as ideal for a woman and as something most Indian women in Canada would like for themselves. Moreover, they encourage this balanced sense of achievement in their daughters. To appropriate inquiries, 70.4% say they day-dream about playing another role in life ar achieving something more, and 28.6% give as the major frustration in their present role, the description "cannot pursue creative activity of my own outside the home". But, in spite of their aspirations and feelings of discontent at not attaining these aspirations, most respondents fulfill their sense of accomplishment in the traditional vicarious mode through the accomplishments of their husbands. Further, most respondents (78.1%) claim they are satisfied with their roles - ranging from mostly in the home (one-third of the sample), part time work/outside activities (one-third of the sample) or full time work outside the home (one-third sample). Seemingly then, these women experience much the same submerged internal dilemma of many of their western counterparts. They would really like a fuller sense of achievement for themselves, but most settle for less, and mostly slip into a vicarious mode of fulfilment through their husband's accomplishments.

While this resolution of the woman's dilemma between her own aspirations and the realities of her situation in the marriage setting resembles the pattern of experience of many western women, most respondents claimed (45.8% versus 20.0% of those responding) that western views about the place of men and women in the natural order had not influenced their lives. In fact, more than half the sample stated they were unaware of women's liberation movements in the west during adolescence (56.2% versus 30.5%). Western influences, of course, may be

subtle and pervasive. Respondents who were aware of women's movementsp in the west, in general, viewed these favourably. Most respondents now view such movements and events such as International Women's Year favourably.

Self-concept and Self-identity:

In traditional Indian thinking, the ideal woman was selfless, gentle, devoted, retiring, loyal, obedient - characteristics symbolized in the figure of Sita, devoted wife of Rama, and acted out in extreme acts of loyalty as embodied in the ancient practice of "suttee". But as we have seen the data reinforce naturalistic observations that the contemporary Indian woman has experienced change and acculturation both to forces within India and in the western world, though she may not always be alert to the impact of these forces.

Insight into the woman's self-concept and self-identity was gleaned from a series of measures which probed questions such as: Who am I? How do I view my real self? What would I like to be ideally? What attitudes do I have toward myself?

Overall, respondents display a high level of self-esteem. They express a positive, confident attitude toward the self, they feel they are people of worth, with good qualities, capable of doing things as well as others. However, there were areas in which lower self-esteem was expressed. Specifically, a fair proportion of respondents express a degree of dissatisfaction with the self, they would like more respect for the self, they feel "useless" or "no good" at times. The perception of the "real self" is also generally positive (Osgood, et al., 1957). The women see themselves as good, happy, wise, etc. Descriptive terms

selected by the women which are at variance with Canadian perceptions of them as will be discussed later in this paper are, for example, the description "friendly". Indian women see themselves as "friendly" but, in fact, do not "come across" in this way to Canadians. In addition, the women see themselves as feminine, soft, cautious, lenient, but "strong". In the North American context, being "strong" is more likely to be linked with traits of hard, masculine, severe, adventurous. From the perspective of how Indian women "come across" to Canadians, their traditional softness, femininity, and cautious manner, which they recognize in themselves, are more likely to be linked with the trait "weak".

Adjectives chosen describing the "ideal self" seemed somewhat unrealistic. Respondents said that ideally they would like to be: very important, very valuable, vary feminine, very cautious, very superior! I view these responses as "true" rather than as an indication of the response set, i.e., the tendency of respondents to place checkmarks at the extreme ends of scales defined by bipolar adjectives, because steps had been taken to control for this tendency. If we think about the meaning of these traits, wanting to be "very" superior, cautious, feminine, in the more egalitarian, competitive, and aggressive North American culture may well generate inappropriate behaviours, unrealistic aspirations, and a less acceptable image in this culture.

When confronted with the question, "Who am I" (Robinson & Shaver, 1969), respondents' initial reactions were uncertain, reticent, expressions of being "at a loss" to verbalize their insights about the inner self. Most respondents seemingly seldom reflected on this question, possibly because of immediate environmental demands on them, or because

they are culturally not "tuned" to probing the self and the meaning of their lives. Seemingly, they incorporate life events as they occur, adjust and "flow" with these events. However, once respondents felt at ease, they responded more readily and even with enthusiasm. Overall, descriptions were simple, concrete and straightforward. A content analysis of a random sampling of responses (N = 25, total N = 105) reveals the pattern described below:

To the cue phrase, "I have", primary focus centred on the family: I have small children, good children, a good understanding husband, a happy life in the family; there was little focus on material possessions.

To the cue phrase, "I am", responses revolved about the home and family (I am a wife, mother, good wife and mother), on the self as "woman", on personality traits possessed, balanced between desirable and undesirable traits (I am kind, nice, sincere, intelligent, happy, versus I am impatient, get annoyed, like to gossip, have a bad memory) and frequent mention was made of skills, training, education, professions (I am a teacher, artist, nurse, doctor, typist, etc.)

To the cue phase: "I want" three major emphases emerge: (i) a good education, success, high achievement for children, (ii) realization of the woman's potential, more knowledge, education, (iii) a happy life, peace, contentment for family and self and (iv) making a good impact on Canadians, embodied in statements such as: prove I'm a Canadian, remove discrimination, share old civilization of India, show Indians are not underdeveloped,

understand ethnic groups in Canada.

To the cue phrase, "My goals are" and "I would like to be", responses elicited were: (i) further education, learning English, careers, e.g., teaching, social work, (ii) a happy life, being a good wife and mother, (iii) helping others, serving the community, doing volunteer work, doing something for the world and the poor. Several "mentions" were made about religious values and the importance of these values for children ("I have devotion to God", "show Canadians that because of Karma we are all here"). There were a few "mentions" of wanting to return to India. (See Table 5).

The social psychologist is always concerned about the authenticity of interviewees' responses to questions that may tend to elicit responses that are socially desirable in the culture, i.e., the tendency to present oneself in favourable light. The data reveal two major trends in the check for this concern. (i) Judgments that related to the respondent herself were not contaminated by the social desirability tendency, i.e., respondents were willing to admit, for example, that they gossip at times, may have felt like telling others off, have found it difficult to get along with loud-mouthed people. That is, respondents were willing to admit to private feelings that may not materialize in overt behaviors. (ii) Judgments that related to interactions with others, however, seemed to elicit more socially desirable responses, at least from a western perspective. Thus, respondents say they never hesitate to help someone in trouble, they have never disliked anyone, they would never go to a movie without paying for it, they are always

careful about their appearance.

Canadian Perceptions of Indian Women:

Through the cooperation of students in my classes, 79 Canadians (students and non-students - mainly white collar workers, a few professionals, and housewives) most of whom reported occasional contact with Indians/Pakistanis, responded to a brief questionnaire relating to their perceptions of Indian women. The following three questions were posed: How do East Indian/Pakistani women you have observed or encountered "come across" to you? What do you like about them and what do you dislike about them? Canadian perceptions of Indian women ranged from statements that were clearly favourable or unfavourable, to combined favourable and unfavourable impressions, to non-judgmental, non-commital type statements. Examples of positive, liked characteristics pertained to the Indian woman's beauty, grace, intelligence, femininity, mystique, self-control. Negative adjectives used describing disliked characteristics were: dirty, greasy, smelly. Only a minority of the respondents liked Indian women wearing their traditional dress (the correct label for the Indian dress, "sari" was not used at all), and then only on special occasions. The "tikka" (dot) on the Hindu woman's forehead was not liked. One respondent wrote: "we are all equal here", others wrote: "if in Canada dress as Canadians". (Incidentally, I may add, that these negative reactions to the sari are experienced by Indian women in other parts of the world. I recall that in South Africa, where I was born and raised, Indian women in sari were often rudely addressed as "Mary" by white South Africans, rather than by their correct names, because of the resemblance of the sari to the dress worn by Mary, the

mother of Christ!) There was strong dislike too, of Indians speaking their home languages. Again, the feeling expressed was that Indians should speak English if they live in Canada. Several respondents experienced Indian women as pushy, rude, abrupt, out of touch with Canadian culture, ignorant of Canadian customs, unwilling to change.

Examples of combined favourable-unfavourable impressions are as follows: Canadians tended to like the Indian woman's quiet, shy, polite manner, but this liking moved to perceiving her as cold, aloof, unfriendly. A small percentage of the respondents commented thus: "they think they are better than anyone else, snobbish, arrogant." Further, while they tended to like the Indian woman's commitment to her husband and children, they disliked what they described as her submission to her husband, her place behind a man, her subservience. Several Canadians said there was nothing they liked or disliked about Indian women; Canadian males had almost no contact with them. A few people said they had no basis for making judgments about Indian women because of lack of contact, a few refused to generalize from limited contact, and a few said "they are human like us; when you get to know them, they have a hidden warmth, commitment to friends, hospitality. (See Table 6)

Achievement Aspirations:

As is commonly recognized in Protestant societies, hard work and the pursuit of success became moral ideals and many analysts contend that it is these moral ideals that led to the economic accomplishments of the Protestant societies. Given this hard work-success oriented climate, why is it that the female sector of North American society is besieged by a condition described and documented by American psycholo-

gist, Matina Horner (1975), as "fear of success"? i.e., Why is it that girls in North American society experience anxiety about achieving because they expect unfavourable consequences arising from success, such as: fear of losing friends, not finding a marriage partner, fear of becoming lonely, isolated, unhappy, because of success.

Horner used a story telling imagery technique to elicit achievement responses from American female college students. Her content analyses of these data revealed that even girls who were competing successfully at college, displayed fear of social rejection, concern about their femininity/normality and indeed their stories revealed denial of success.

In general, coverage of achievement motivation in women is limited; even less research has been conducted on cross-cultural samples. The present study utilized Horner's story-telling method to probe the nature of achievement motivation in Indian women. Participants were asked to tell a story about the following situation: After first term finals, Anne finds herself at the top of her medical school class. The themes in the stories were analyzed using Horner's categories (Dybka, 1977). This analysis revealed that there was no anxiety connected with the expectation of success nor did respondents feel that success would result in social rejection or loss of femininity/normality. Rather, success was viewed as bringing happiness to the individual involved, as well as to her family, a bright and continued career is predicted, and potential contributions to the society are envisioned.

The story-telling analysis of achievement was augmented with tests of achievement attitudes, aspirations for the women themselves,

and for their daughters. In the achievement attitudes' test (Mehrabian, 1968) the respondents were asked to indicate their preference for one of two settings or experiences. A higher level of achievement orientation is inherent in one of the two choices. Thus, for example, agreement with the following statement indicates high achievement: At school/ college I would think more about getting a good grade, than worry about getting a bad grade. Agreement with the statement, i.e., focussng on getting a good grade indicates higher achievement orientation than disagreement with the statement, which focusses on worrying about getting a bad grade.

Overall, the respondents exhibit a high achievement orientation. Thus for example, at school they would focus more on getting a good grade, than worry about getting bad grades. They think of the future rather than the past or present; they would rather take total responsibility for a group's activities than share in the decision-making process; they think it very important to do a job well, even if this means not getting on with co-workers, etc. Further, the respondents claimed that they would take advantage of opportunities for higher education and careers for themselves should openings in the community be made available, and that they would be willing to help in the promotional work entailed. Finally, they indicated that they think "very often or occasionally" about education and careers for their daughters for whom they have high aspirations; most people choosing the doctoral level (31.4% of 50.5% responding), in particular, a medical career (26.7% of 54.3%) for their daughters. (See Table 7)

Analysis, Reflections and Recommendations:

What factors in the Indian woman's perception of herself, her sense of identity, and her status in the Canadian context facilitate or hinder her potential contribution to Canadian society?

Certain clear trends in the data I have reported can be identified:

(i) A deep concern about the home and family, a distinct family-orientedness. I suggest that the strong supportive home life the Indian woman assists in creating is also a solid "building block" for the larger society.

(ii) High achievement motivation, high educational and career aspirations for herself and her family, negligible experience of "fear of success". I suggest that high achievement motivation and aspirations will promote the upward mobility of the Indian family in this country; in time creative contributions will emerge.

(iii) A positive self-concept and self-identity that relates not only to home and family, but also to concerns beyond the self and home to others and the larger community. I suggest that with time and the surmounting of "survival" problems that many people are experiencing as new Canadians, Indian women will become more visible participants in the larger society.

(iv) A degree of dissatisfaction with the lack of opportunity to explore a more creative and balanced mode of accomplishment, but an acceptance of a vicarious sense of accomplshment, i.e., deriving satisfaction largely through the husband's achievements. I suggest that if Indian women want to explore a more challenging

and creative life as the data seem to indicate, then attention must be given to developing those skills and traits of independence which will promote this endeavour.

(v) Certain behaviors tend to alienate Indian women from Canadians, e.g., reserve and "privacy" may be perceived as unfriendly, behaviors in relation to husband and other males in the family may be interpreted as subservient, traditional style of dress, usage of home languages in public or "in company" may become irritants for Canadians. The onus rests on both Indian men and women to examine their behaviors and the values associated with these behaviors to determine the compromises they may wish to make (or not make) with regard to external expressions of "differentness". In the dynamics of social perception the visibility factor - whether physical (i.e., different skin colour, eye or hair type, etc.) or behavioural (i.e., different dress, social customs, etiquette, etc.) tends to create social contrast effects, i.e., the differences are exaggerated, and socially distant relationships may arise.

(vi) Beliefs such as Karma and Dharma may not serve the woman's best interests in this country as they encourage an "accepting" attitude toward life which is at variance with the "conquest-mastery" attitude prevailing in North American culture. Again, I suggest that the onus rests on Indian people to examine traditional beliefs and values, and to consider modifying (or not) those values that are likely to generate conflict in the host country.

Indian Self-Support Systems:

Indian women, in general, have been socialized in a protected and sheltered environment (Naidoo, 1976). Many do not possess the skills and traits for coping with the expectations of North American society, even where the women have a high level of formal education. One well educated young woman said to me: "I was too frightened to speak when I first came here". Another said: "I was frightened to shake hands with our Canadian neighbour (male) when he extended his hand in greeting because I had never done this before". One recommendation, which I believe should be made, therefore, is to urge Indian men to participate more actively in facilitating the integration of their women into the larger society, where the need to do so exists.

Entry into Canadian society is relatively easy for Indian men; it is much more difficult for women. There are many ways in which Indian men may be helpful. Two examples that come to mind immediately, because I have been confronted with them recently are: Indian husbands could encourage, and perhaps initially, escort their wives to English classes; Indian university professors could facilitate the entry of Indian women wishing to return to university by counselling and advising them. Indian women should be encouraged to attend leadership and assertiveness classes offered in the community. More affluent Indians should assume some responsibility in extending their skills, training, and emotional support to less privileged segments of the community. Examples: Indians could volunteer time to teach English to women and children who are deficient in the language, women who are isolated because they have no transport could be visited by women who are more mobile, etc.

Finally, I believe there is a pressing need for more empirical research on the Indian culture, on Indian values and attitudes, Indian experiences, and view of the world. I would urge Indian professionals in the social sciences, in particular, to engage in such endeavours. Knowledge and insight into the culture and it's people, accessible to North Americans will surely promote a more congenial climate of receptivity and communication.

Cross-Ethnic Support Systems:

I have not addressed myself to potential growth for the Indian community deriving from cross-ethnic contacts and shared group activities, through concerned church groups and other organized groups. My primary focus centres on self-support systems within the Indian community, but cross-ethnic support systems can contribute significantly towards integrating women in particular. In an aggressive, competitive, power-oriented culture, Indian women frequently find themselves relegated to peripheral positions in Canadian group settings. A young woman student at the University of Toronto interviewed on the Mike McManus program said: "I felt like a non-person in the University". Another, the only woman in a local pottery class, I was told by a Canadian colleague, is simply ignored.

People of non-western origin have made impressive adaptations to western culture; the reverse cannot be said of people of western origin. Except for a minority, western people remain relatively uninformed about non-western cultures, philosophies, languages, and religions, adhered to by millions around the globe. In a pluralistic society some compromises, some degree of tolerance, and enlightenment on the part of esta-

blished Canadians can surely be expected by new Canadians. Moreover, as stated elsewhere (Naidoo, 1976), my study, observation and experience lead me to believe that it is important for minority peoples to retain selected aspects of both old and new values for the wholesome evolution and integration of the personality. Those values which are perceived by a people as critical to the inner self, to people's sense of identity and personal worth, should be nurtured and preserved for a healthy evolving "new" self, within the host culture. People cannot be expected to, nor should they simply abandon values and philosophies basic to their sense of "being" in too short a period of time. In my perception the gradual evolution in adapting and reconstructing the inner self as people move from home to host culture is a psychologcially sounder process than rapid change and abandonment of values that are profoundly meaningful to the inner self. The latter process may well produce disintegration of the inner self with resultant negative features for the minority group itself and the whole culture.

Concluding Comments:

One expression of the "Canadian dream" is the insistence that ethnic differences should be maintained because they give the newcomer in the host country a sense of cultural identity, but also because they enrich the host culture (Greeley, 1971). Maintenance of ethnic differences that contrast too sharply with the host culture, however, does not seem to be conducive to social acceptance. Is multiculturalism then a distant dream? (Bhatnagar, 1976). Is unity in diversity a dream? Perhaps only a spiritual unity is attainable (P.M. Trudeau, Student Conference, Winnipeg, 1977). Will Canada be receptive to varied forms of

expression which reflect the diversity of human beings? Will our common humanity be a more binding factor than our external differences? Can the Indian woman with her combined traditional and contemporary sensitivities find her place in this great country of her choice? This is indeed a challenge for the future and for all of us, Canadians.

References

Bhatnagar, J. Education of Immigrant Children. Canadian Ethnic Studies, 1976, 8, #1, 52-70.

Cormack, Margaret L. She Who Rides a Peacock: Indian Students and Social Change. London: Asia Publishing House, 1961.

Cormack, Margaret L. The Hindu Woman. Greenwood Publishing Company, Connecticut, 1974.

Dybka, Donna. A cross-cultural comparison of the "fear of success" motive. Unpublished paper, Wilfrid Laurier University, 1977.

Greeley, A.M. Why Can't They Be Like Us. New York: E.P. Dutton, 1971.

Horner, Matina. Femininity and successful achievement: A basic inconsistency. In Krupat, E. (Ed.), Psychology is Social. Glenview, Illinois: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1975.

Lipman-Blumen, Jean. How ideology shapes women's lives. Scientific American, 1972 (Jan.), 34-42.

Mehrabian, A. Male and female scales of the tendency to achieve. Educational and Psychological Measurement, 1968, 28, 493-502.

Naidoo, J.C. The East Idian Woman. Toronto: Proceedings of an intercultural seminar on East Indians, 1976.

Osgood, C.E., Suci, G.J., and Tannebaum, P.H. The Measurement of Meaning. Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1957.

Robinson, J.P. and Shaver, P.R. Measures of Social Psychological Attitudes. Ann Arbor, Michigan: Publications Division, Institute for Social Research. The University of Michigan, 1969.

Table: 1

DESCRIPTION OF SURVEY SAMPLE

Home Country	# Families	10% Sample	Obtained Sample
India	250	25	55
Pakistan	80	8	12
Bangledesh	10	1	3
Sri Lanka	10	1	4
East Africa	150	15	10*
Guyana	110	11	12
Trinidad	75	8	9

* Under represented

Table: 2

SURVEY SAMPLE BY RELIGION

Home Country	Religion	Frequency	Total
INDIA	Hindu	41	
	Sikh	8	
	Muslim	4	
	Christian	3	
	Jain	1	55
PAKISTAN	Christian	7	
	Muslim	5*	12
BANGLEDESH	Muslim	4	3
SRI LANKA	Christian	4	4
EAST AFRICA	Ismaili	5*	
	Ithna-Asheri Uganda	3	
	Hindu (Kenya)	1	
	Muslim (Tanzania)	1	10
GUYANA	Hindu	6	
	Muslim	3	
	Christian	3	12
TRINIDAD	Hindu	2	
	Christian	7	9

* Under represented

Table: 3

SENSE OF ACHIEVEMENT (Selected Data)

Women's education & careers outside home - items -	% Agree (traditional)	% Disagree (contemporary)
30. Married women, particularly if they have children, should not expect to have any kind of other career.	17.2	82.0
31. Opportunities for training for the professions/life occupations should be more available to men than to women.	27.6	71.4
		N = 104

Most satisfying sense of achievement - items-	Mode	% Frequency
#5 Activities of equal weight inside and outside the home	Balanced	63.8
#3 Activities mainly inside the home but with some outside activities	Traditional	14.3
		N = 82

		% Frequency
Daydream about playing another role in life or achieving something more in life.	very often	17.1
	occasionally	53.3
	almost never	8.6
	never	16.2
		N = 100

Table: 4

SENSE OF ACCOMPLISHMENT

My sense of accomplishment outside my home can be:

	Mode	% Frequency
1. Completely fulfilled by my husband's work	Traditional	3.8
2. Mostly fulfilled by my husband's work but I need to accomplish something of my own	Vicarious	48.7
3. Fulfilled when each accomplishes equally	Balanced	26.7
4. Mostly fulfilled by own accomplishments but I need to feel my husband is accomplishing something	Direct	10.5
5. Completely fulfilled by my own accomplishments	Contemporary	2.9

N = 97

Table: 5

QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS OF "WHO AM I" RESPONSES

Cue Phrase	Most Frequent Responses	Categorization
1. "I have"	small children	family-centred
	good husband	
2. "I am"	a wife, mother	family-centred
	a woman	female identity
	nice, happy, impatient	personality traits
	a teacher, typist	occupation
3. "I want"	good education for children	family education
	realize own potential	self achievement
	happy family	family-centred
4. "My goals are"	further education	self-improvement
	happy family life	family-centred
	share Indian culture	inter-group relationship

N = 25
Total N = 105

Table: 6

CANADIAN PERCEPTIONS OF INDIAN WOMEN*

Trait Description	Most Frequent Response
Liked, positive	beauty grace intelligence femininity
Disliked, negative	dirty abrupt customs (dress, "tikka") Indian languages (public/"in company" usage)
Combined positive-negative	quietness, politeness - aloof unfriendly commitment family - subservience to men

N = 79

* Study in progress - findings should not be generalized until further data are collected.

Table: 7

ANALYSIS OF STORY THEMES (Naidoo-Dybka, 1977)

Theme	Frequency	% Frequency
1. Anne's happiness	32	17.58
2. Happiness and/or influence of Anne's parents	41	22.52
3. Continuation of career only	57	31.42
4. Combination of career and marriage	18	9.89
5. Career ends after marriage	1	0.05
6. Poverty in Anne's background	6	3.29
7. Anne's contribution to society	18	9.89

ANALYSIS OF STORY THEMES (Horner's categories, 1975)

Theme	Frequency	% Frequency
1. Fear of social rejection	6	3.29
2. Denial	3	1.64
3. Concern about femininity or normality	0	0.00

Total number of stories = 90

The East Indian Woman in Canadian Context

A Study in Social Psychology

Josephine C. Naidoo, Ph.D.

Psychology Department

Wilfrid Laurier University

Waterloo, Ontario

A paper presented at the Meetings of the Learned Societies:

South Asian Studies

Fredericton, New Brunswick

May 27-29, 1977

The East Indian Woman in Canadian Context*

A Study in Social Psychology

I. Introduction

Empirical research on peoples of non-western origin living on the North American Continent has emerged only in recent years. The literature reveals that research on the East Indian culture is generally meagre. Comparative studies of this culture and the North American are scattered. No coherent body of theory basic to an understanding of value and ideological differences between the two cultures exists. The present study contributes to this understanding. It also provides data about the influence of cultural habits on concepts of male-female roles and functions; data useful for the assessment of attitudes towards women based on concepts of biological determinism which tend to undermine the potential achievement-orientation of North American women. Finally, the study gives insight into the dynamics of acculturation in a non-western subgroup within the context of the cultural pluralism characterizing Canadian society.

At this critical point in the history of Canadian unity, the fullest participation and active commitment of all segments of the population to Canada, Canadian institutions, Canadian society and culture, is an issue of urgent dimensions. Such commitment poses complex questions for new Canadians. These revolve around the dual demand of iden-

---

*Generalizations about East Indians in Canada on the basis of this research should be very cautious, until further studies have been conducted indicating tht such generalizations are warranted.

tifiction, communication and social acceptance within the host culture, and the retention of those facets of the original culture perceived as critical for cultural identity and integrity of the inner self-concept.

This paper: 1. Examines the role perceptions, sense of accomplishment, and achievement aspirations of a large sample of women (N = 105) of East Indian origins resident in two adjunct cities* in Ontario, Canada.

2. Makes comparative analysis on similar dimensions for a sample of women of Anglo-Saxon origins, matched by residential location. (N = 105)

3. Poses questions and reflections about the Indian woman in Canadian context, her potential contributions to Canadian society, and the realization of this potential.

II. Characteristics of the Samples

210 volunteer respondents of East Indian and Anglo-Saxon origins were interviewed by trained senior Canadian women students in two detailed sessions conducted in the women's home settings. An in-depth interview schedule probing the variables of interest to this study drawn from the literature and modified for research pertinent to the Indian culture, in particular, was utilized. The study was viewed as exploratory, its basic objectives being to identify and refine variables yielding insightful knowledge, again in particular, about the Indian culture.

Since official population records by ethnic background are not

---

*Cities unidentified to respect complete anonymity of participants.

available in Canada, population estimates for the Indian group resident in the twin cities were based on listings provided courtesy of local cultural and religious organizations and well-informed individuals within the Indian community. A randomly selected sample of 10% from each subgroup within the Indian community was set as a target sample. Tables 1 and 2 indicate that this "target" sample requirement was largely met. Women from India, Pakistan, Bangledesh, Sri Lanka, East Africa, Guyana and Trinidad were, therefore, included in the "target" sample. Respondents of Anglo-Saxon origins were randomly selected from the City Directory (Vernon, 1976) on the basis of residential "match" with the Indian women.

Detailed biographical data were obtained from the respondents. Selected data are presented in Table 3. They reveal good "match" between participants in the two groups on demographic variables which investigators employing the survey technique generally attempt to control. Thus, both Indian and Anglo-Saxon women had spent most of their childhood and adolescence within their respective home countries, primarily in cities and towns (rather than metropoles or rural areas), most women in both groups were relatively young, in the 20-34 year-old age bracket, husbands were older than their wives, and most women in both groups had been married 1-5 years. The Anglo-Saxon group peaked at one other age level, 50 years +, married 20 years +.

Primary and high school education were most frequently received by women in both groups. There was a nucleus of women with higher degrees (Bachelor's degree, in particular) among Indians and Anglo-Saxons. There were more cases of clerical-professional training among

the Anglo-Saxon women. Husbands in both groups tended to have received more formal education than their women, with a nucleus of men possessing higher degrees for both groups. Respondents' parents had roughly the same educational background. Mothers and fathers generally had attended primary and high schools; a small number of fathers in both groups had obtained the Bachelor's degree. There were more cases of skilled labourers among the fathers of the Anglo-Saxon group.

Respondents in both groups were, in general, "non-students," the salary bracket, $15,000-$20,000 was most frequently endorsed by both groups where a response to this item had been given. However, there were twice as many Anglo-Saxon couples in the $30,000+ bracket. Husbands were main wage earners in both groups; women who worked contributed just small percentages of the total income. There was, however, a small group of women (5.7% for Indians; 5.8% for Anglo-Saxons) who, seemingly, were sole earners in their respective groups.

Indians most frequently had a two-child family; Anglo-Saxons three. Indians were primarily Hindu by religion; Anglo-Saxons were primarily Protestant. Women in both groups considered themselves "somewhat religious." Anglo-Saxons said their religious beliefs had changed "somewhat" since leaving the parental home; Indians said their religious beliefs had not changed at all since living in Canada or other western countries. The Indian length of stay in Canada was very variable, ranging from 1-16 years, peaking at 2-3 years. Most Indians were landed immigrants, and most planned to become Canadian citizens.

III. The Privacy Factor in the Interview Process

A characteristic of people in the East Indian culture experienced

in this study that warrants attention is the extreme privacy with which Indians regard their attitudes, values, and relationships. Questions, which in the North American culture, investigators would not hesitate to ask and anticipate frank responses, seemingly are considered extremely private in the Indian culture. Thus, for example, questions about family relationships, perceptions about the self, parental treatment of boys and girls, inter-ethnic marriage, the perception of Canadians in the larger society, etc. were more difficult to probe with Indian respondents than with Anglo-Saxon respondents. Contrary to the general finding for the interview process with ethnic samples, Indian participants did not necessarily respond better to their own in-group interviewers. Presumably, they preferred talking with "strangers" because this allayed their anxieties regarding possible "leaks"* in data they viewed as very private.

Enlisting the co-operation of the community entailed more than the usual steps researchers take in the initial soliciting stages of a project. Although most people responded with interest, even enthusiasm to the project, there were individuals, albeit a minority, who expressed fears that such research was "premature," possibly "damaging"* to the community. In some instances it was extremely important to convince the husband of the importance and confidentiality of the wife's participation in the project.

Personal contact, allowing respondents to verbalize their fears, moving from an indirect to a more direct approach in eliciting respon-

---

*words used by potential respondents

ses, talking about individual anxieties regarding the effects of empirical research for the larger community, were approaches that contributed to rapport and co-operation. Mailed questionnaires yielded negligible responses. Telephone discussions, obtaining entry to speak about the project at religious and cultural gatherings, explanatory meetings with leaders of sub-groups within the community, served as excellent foot-in-the-door techniques. Television and radio presentations on the Indian programs, flyers placed in the Indian grocery stores and cinemas alerted some people.

No single set of interviewer characteristics can be labelled the appropriate "successful" set for entry into the homes of this particular minority group. Mature, trained, attractive, courteous interviewers were employed throughout the project. Patience, and a "waiting it out" approach helped. Interviewer-respondent relationships that "clicked" yielded productive, enjoyable, even memorable experiences for both participants in the interview process.

IV. Comparative Features of the Samples

(A) The Women's Role Perceptions: The advent of the women's liberation movement in the western world triggered off a series of studies revolving about the age-old question of what kinds of behaviours are socially appropriate for men and women. An extensive survey of how ideology shapes women's lives conducted by American sociologist, Jean Lipman-Blumen, published in the Scientific American, January, 1972, attracted my attention. Perhaps, not surprisingly, she reported that the sex-role ideology, i.e., the system of beliefs regarding the appropriate behaviour of women with respect to men, acquired during childhood

and adolescence guided the adult woman's perceptions, life goals, educational and occupational aspirations. The Lipman-Blumen study was conducted on the wives of graduate students in the Boston area. In her study 27% of the women adhered to a category she labelled "traditional" ideology and 73% held a "contemporary" ideology. According to the traditional view the female role revolves about the belief that a woman's responsibilities are home-making and child rearing; men are responsible for financial support of family, women with children should not expect to have a career. The contemporary view is based on the belief that women should be as free as men to pursue educational and occupational goals, that men and women should share equally in responsibilities inside and outside the home.

Similar questions have rarely been asked of immigrant women of non-western origin, living on the North American continent. The present study posed the questions: How does the contemporary Indian women view herself? What are her beliefs about role division in the home, male dominance, responsibility for children and household chores, women's education and work outside the home? What would she like to accomplish in her life, and how do these aspirations differ from those of women in her family in the home country?

The picture of the Indian woman's role perceptions emerging from this study is more complex than findings reported by Lipman-Blumen for the American sample. Specifically, the women's beliefs about their role in life show a complementary interaction between traditional and contemporary expectations for women. Thus the data reveal a slight belief in role division and male protection, but a strong belief that the respon-

sibility for household chores should be shared even where a woman works outside the home primarily for her own fulfillment, rather than to supplement the family income (79.0%). The resistance to sole responsibility for household chores may be understood in the context that 72.2% of the respondents report that their mothers had domestic help, 50.0% had full-time help. Respondents, therefore, came from homes in which women were largely freed from the heavier domestic role that characterizes the woman's role in North American culture. Further, the data show a strong belief in the woman's ability, and in opportunity for education and careers for married women, even where they have children (82.0%). Respondents felt that women were capable of assuming positions over men, making their own decisions about voting, and sharing equally in decision-making in the family. However, the respondents show a decided traditional trend with regard to children. There is considerable feeling that the natural mother is best for the child, that a mother with young children should not work outside the home, and a strong belief that even good day care centres cannot take the place of the mother in caring for the child (77.1%).

Table 4 compares the trends in the data for Indians and Anglo-Saxons on two dimensions, viz., beliefs about responsibility for children (most traditional category for Indians) and beliefs about women's education and work outside the home (most contemporary category for Indians). Anglo-Saxon women are clearly extremely "contemporary," more so than Indian women; items on which they take a "traditional" stance they are less traditional than Indian women. Overall (all categories), the Anglo-Saxon data is very "contemporary," inclusive of beliefs about

household chores and related responsibilities. This, in spite of the fact that unlike the Indian families, 68.6% of the Anglo-Saxon homes had no domestic help, hence mothers of respondents engaged in heavy household work (71.40%) and grocery shopping (86.7%) in addition to child care, cooking, and light household duties. Anglo-Saxon respondents in this study, therefore, have not modelled their behaviours in this respect on that of their mothers.

As Table 4 shows, Anglo-Saxon women, too, are conservative on items such as day care centres for children, and work outside the home where children are involved. The tendency is less marked than in the case of Indian women.

(B) The Indian Woman's Self-Identity: In traditional Indian thinking, the ideal woman was selfless, gentle, devoted, retiring, loyal, obedient - characteristics symbolized in the figure of Sita, devoted wife of Rama, and acted out in extreme acts of loyalty as embodied in the ancient practice of "suttee." However, naturalistic observations indicate that the contemporary Indian women has experienced change and acculturation both to forces within India and in the western world.

Insight into the woman's self-concept and self-identity was gleaned from a series of measures which probed responses to questions such as: Who am I? How do I view my real self? What would I like to be ideally? What attitudes do I have toward myself? (Naidoo, 1977)

Pertinent data from the "Who am I?" measure is reported in this paper and presented in Table 5. When confronted with the question, "Who am I," respondents' initial reactions were uncertain, reticent, expres-

sions of "being at a loss" to verbalize their insights about the inner self. Most respondents seemingly seldom reflected on this question, possibly because of immediate environmental demands on them, or because they are culturally not "tuned" to probing the self and the meaning of their lives. Seemingly, Indian women incorporate life events as they occur, adjust and "flow" with these events. However, once respondents felt at ease, they responded more readily, and even with enthusiasm. Overall, descriptions were simple, concrete, and straightforward. A content analysis of a random sampling of responses (N = 25; Total N = 105) reveals the pattern described below:

To the cue phrase, "I have," primary focus centred on the family (I have small children, a good understanding husband, a happy life in the family) there was little focus on material possessions.

To the cue phrase, "I am," responses revolved about the home and family (I am a wife, mother, good wife and mother), on the self as "woman," on personality traits possessed, balanced between desirable and undesirable traits (I am kind, nice, sincere, unselfish, intelligent, happy, versus I am impatient, get annoyed, like to gossip, have a bad memory) and frequent mention was made of skills, training, education, professions (I am a teacher, artist, nurse, doctor, typist, etc.)

To the cue phrase, "I want," three major emphases emerge: (i) a good education, success, high achievement for children; (ii) realization of the woman's potential, more knowledge, education; (iii) a happy life, peace, contentment for family and self; and (iv) making a good impact on Canadians, embodied in statements such as: prove I'm a Canadian, remove discrimination, share old civilization of India, show Indians are not

underdeveloped, understand ethnic groups in Canada.

To the cue phrase, "My goals are," the following responses were elicited: (i) further education, learning English, careers, e.g., teaching, social work; (ii) a happy life, being a good wife and mother; (iii) helping others, serving the community, doing volunteer work, doing something for the world and the poor. Several "mentions" were made about religious values and the importance of these values for children ("I have devotion to God," "show Canadians that because of Karma we are all here"). There were a few "mentions" of wanting to return to India.

Analysis and Reflections: The data indicate that the Indian woman in this study portrays a complementary interaction between traditional and contemporary roles in life. She is strongly traditional with regard to motherhood and children, but is quite contemporary with regard to education and careers outside the home, pursuits viewed in the past as the perogatives of men. However, she is both more traditional on motherhood-children issues, and less contemporary on education-careers issues, then her Anglo-Saxon counterpart. Her strong family-orientedness emerges again on the self-identity sentence completion test, as does her concern about education for herself and her family.

(C) Sense of Accomplishment: Lipman-Blumen (1972) defines three categories of mode of achievement adopted by women in her study: direct, balanced, and vicarious. Women who prefer the direct mode tend to satisfy their achievement needs predominantly through their own efforts; those who choose the balanced mode place an equal weight on their husband's accomplishments and on their own; and those who choose the vicarious mode of fulfilling their achievement needs predominantly

through the accomplishmetns of their husbands.

Lipman-Blumen, on the basis of her study on graduate student wives, presents data which indicate that the direct mode of achievement was preferred by one-third of the women who shared a contemporary view of life, whereas it was preferred by only one-sixth of the women with the traditional viewpoint of life. As might be expected, 76% of those women with the traditional ideology compared to 54% of those with the contemporary viewpoint adhered to the vicarious mode of achievement. It is interesting to note with reference to this study, that relatively few women seemed to prefer the balanced mode of achievement in which the accomplishments of both husband and wife carry equal weight (16% contemporary, and 7% traditional).

As already discussed, in terms of role perceptions, the nature of the Indian sample tested appears to be complementary, reflecting a combination of traditional and contemporary characteristics. Following the Lipman-Blumen procedure, questions pertaining to the respondents' sense of accompishment outside the home were posed and an attempt was made to trace the development of their sense of achievement aspiration from home to host country.

Most Indian women choose the vicarious mode of achievement (52.5%), i.e., their sense of accomplishment outside the home is mostly fulfilled by the husband's achievements, but they do express a need to accomplish something on their own. 26.7% chose the balanced mode of achievement, i.e., their sense of accomplishment is fulfilled only when both husband and wife accomplish equally, and a minority (10.5%) chose the direct mode, i.e., they feel fulfilled mostly by their own accom-

plishments, though they also need to feel that the husband is accomplishing something. Only a few respondents chose the extremely contemporary position, i.e., fulfillment completely on the basis of one's own outside activities (2.9%). (See Table 6)

Inspection of Table 6 reveals that the trends for the sense of accomplishment outside the home for Anglo-Saxon women is almost a reversal of the trends for the Indian data. These women choose the direct mode of achievement, i.e., for a sizable percentage of this group (46.7%) achievement needs are satisfied largely through the woman's own efforts. About one-third of the sample (30.5%) chose the vicarious mode, which is considerably lower than the figure for Indians. Interestingly, a higher percentage of the Indian rather than the Anglo-Saxon group chose the balanced mode of accomplishment (26.7%; 18.1% respectively).

(D) Changes in Achievement Aspirations: An attempt was made to examine evolution and changes in the women's sense of achievement. In response to appropriate questions, respondents maintained that the sense of achievement generally shown by women in the family circle in India was traditional - related to roles as mother, wife, home arts, some outside activities. However, the sense of achievement encouraged in respondents by their parents moved from traditional to balanced - contemporary, with a clear component related to seeking higher education, a career or stable occupation, earning money and status. This pattern is endorsed by the Indian women as the sense of achievement they experienced most of their lives.

By contrast, Anglo-Saxon women, raised within a traditional

family circle in most cases, were also largely encouraged by their parents to continue to pursue the traditional role.

A further change is reported by the Indian women on coming to Canada and in their present lives. The women find that their present sense of achievement is traditional and homebound with some activities outside the home. They feel this experience is common to other Indian women in Canada of their acquaintance. Dissatisfaction with this situation is revealed in questions probing the sense of achievement the women want for themselves, think is the most satisfying in life, and encourage in their daughters. The data show clearly that the women want a more balanced sense of achievement for themselves, in which they may achieve at activities of equal weight inside and outside the home. They view the balanced mode as ideal for a woman and as something most Indian women in Canada would like for themselves. Moreover, they encourage this balanced sense of achievement in their daughters.

Much the same life experience and aspirations are endorsed by the Anglo-Saxon women. They too are homebound and traditional in their present lives, but more of them report achieving activities of equal weight inside and outside the home. Like the Indians, they too, think the balanced mode of life is ideal and encourage this ideal in their daughters.

To appropriate inquiries, 70.4% of the Indian women say they day-dream about playing another role in life or achieving something more, and 28.6% give as the major frustration in their present role, the description "cannot pursue creative activity of my own outside the home." But, in spite of their aspirations and feelings of discontent at not

attaining these aspirations, most respondents fulfill their sense of accomplishment in the traditional vicarious mode through the accomplishments of their husbands. Further, most respondents (78.0%) claim they are satisfied with their roles - ranging form mostly in the home (one-third of the sample), part time work/outside activities (one-third of the sample) or full time work outside the home (one-third sample).

It would seem, then, that Indian women would really like a fuller sense of achievement for themselves, but most settle for less, mostly slip into a vicarous mode of fulfillment through their husbands' accomplishments. About one-third of the Anglo-Saxon sample share the Indian experience; two-thirds of that sample, however experience a more satisfying degree of fulfillment. These individuals fulfill themselves in a more balanced or direct fashion largely through their own achievements. 84.4% indicate satisfaction with their roles in life.

Another point of difference between Indians and Anglo-Saxons relates to their perceptions of women's liberation movements. Although both groups were largely unaware of these movements during adolescence, their present views differ. Indian women tend to view women's movements in the west, and events such as International Women's Year, favorably; Anglo-Saxon women were more uncertain about their attitudes towards these movements and events.

Analysis and Reflections: The traditional orientation of Indian women, already observed in this paper, reappears more pointedly in the sense of accomplishment measure - Indian women choose the vicarious mode of fulfilling their achievement needs. They satisfy these needs largely through the accomplishments of their husbands. They do, however, reveal

some underlying dissatisfaction with this experience, though at a surface level they claim satisfaction with their role in life. Ideally, they would prefer a more balanced mode of achievement, in which equal weight can be placed on their own and their husbands' achievements. This level of achievement is attained by just 26.7% of the Indian sample.

By contrast, though Anglo-Saxon women had a more strongly traditional socialization than Indian women claim, in their present lives they accomplish more through their own efforts, i.e., the direct mode of achievement. They, too, think the balanced mode of achievement is ideal though most have surpassed this level.

Achievement Aspirations: As is commonly recognized in Protestant societies, hard work and the pursuit of success became moral ideals and many analysts contend that it is these moral ideals that led to the economic accomplishments of the Protestant societies. Given this hard work-success oriented climate, why is it that the female sector of North American society is besieged by a condition described and documented by American psychologist, Matina Horner, as "fear of success"? i.e., why is it that girls in North American society experience anxiety about achieving because they expect unfavourable consequences arising from success, such as: fear of losing friends, not finding a marriage partner, fear of becoming lonely, isolated, unhappy, because of success.

Horner used a story telling imagery technique to elicit achievement responses from American female college students. Her content analyses of these data revealed that even girls who were competing successfully at college, displayed fear of social rejection, concern about

their femininity/normality and indeed their stories revealed denial of success.

In general, coverage of achievement motivation in women is limited; even less research has been conducted on cross-cultural samples. To this writer's knowledge, no empirical research has been conducted on achievement aspirations in cultures such as the East Indian, where there is no dating system, where every girl's marriage is almost assured because part of her father's duty is to find a spouse for her, where romantic love is not a major component of marital expectation, and where marriage is often by parental arrangement (present Indian sample: marriage by arrangement 46.7%; by own choice 41.0%), i.e., where many experiences likely to generate anxiety and fear, as identified by Horner, are not a significant aspect of the culture.

The present study utilized Horner's story-telling method to probe the nature of achievement motivation in Indian and Anglo-Saxon women. Participants were asked to tell a story about the following situation: After first term finals, Anne finds herself at the top of her medical school class. The themes in the stories were analyzed using Horner's categories.

Table 7 reveals that for Indian respondents there was negligible occurrence of anxiety connected with the expectation of success. Respondent story imagery did not reflect feelings that success would result in social rejection or loss of femininity/normality. Rather, success was viewed as bringing happiness to the individual involved, as well as to her family, a bright and continued career is predicted, and potential contributions to the society are envisioned. Indeed, many Indian stories

had a "fairytale" tone to them: "Anne will become a doctor, and everyone will be happy ever after."

Stories by Anglo-Saxon women were more complex, especially with regard to analyses of the anxieties likely to be experienced by Anne. Table 7 shows clearly that while the "happiness-success-continued career" theme of the Indian stories did emerge in their stories as well, there was a well defined anxiety component based on fear of social rejection of various descriptions.

The story-telling analysis of achievement was augmented with tests of achievement attitudes, aspirations for the women themselves, and for their daughters. In the achievement attitudes' test (Mehrabian, 1968) the respondents were asked to indicate their preference for one of two settings or experiences. A higher level of achievement orientation is inherent in one of the two choices. Thus, for example, agreement with the following statement indicates high achievement: At school/college I would think more about getting a good grade, than worry about getting a bad grade. Agreement with the statement, i.e., focussing on getting a good grade indicates higher ahievement orientation than disagreement with the statement, which focusses on worrying about getting a bad grade. Only the data for the Indian respondents is reported in this paper.*

Overall, the Indian respondents exhibit a high achievement orientation. Thus, for example, at school they would focus more on getting a good grade, than worry about getting bad grades. They think of the

---

*Data analysis for the Anglo-Saxon participants is in progress.

future rather than the past or present; they would rather take total responsibility for a group's activities than share in the decision-making process; they think it very important to do a job well, even if this means not getting on with co-workers, etc. Further, the respondents claimed that they would take advantage of opportunities for higher education and careers for themselves should openings in the community be made available, and that they would be willing to help in the promotional work entailed. Finally, they indicated that they think "very often or occasionally" about education and careers for their daughters for whom they have high aspirations; most people choosing the doctoral level (31.4% or 50.5% responding), in particular, a medical career (26.7% of 54.3%) for their daughters.

Analysis and Reflection: Seemingly, the Indian woman at the present time has negligible anxiety about success and achievement. She wants both for herself and her children, including her daughters. And she possesses the achievement motivation attitudes and values for bringing high achievement and high aspirations to realization. The picture may change as marriage patterns change, as Indian women experience more aggressive competition, as stereotypes in the mass media, and attitudes within the larger culture regarding achievement for women, infiltrate her domain.

Intercultural Perceptions of Women*: Courtesy of my students and contacts in varied settings in the community, East Indian and Canadian

---

*Study in progress. Findings should not be generalized to other settings or populations until further data have been collected.

male and female, student and non-student respondents were asked about their intercultural perceptions of women.

Thus, three broad questions were asked:

How do women of East Indian origin (Canadian) "come across" to you? What do you like about them, and what do you dislike about them? To date, 79 Canadians have responded; 34 Indians. Hand distributed questionnaires yield less response from Indians than the general Canadian body. Telephone inquiries tend to yield more insightful data from Indians. Non-student Canadians are mainly white collar workers, a few professionals, and housewives. Non-student Indians have similar occupational backgrounds, including a few blue collar workers.

Canadian perceptions of Indian women ranged from statements that were clearly favourable or unfavourable, to combined favourable and unfavourable impressions, to non-judgmental, non-committal type statements (Table 8A). Examples of positive, liked characteristics pertained to the Indian woman's beauty, grace, intelligence, femininity, mystique, self-control. Negative adjectives used describing disliked characteristics were: dirty, greasy, smelly. Only a minority of the respondents liked Indian women wearing their traditional dress (the correct label for the Indian dress, "sari" was not used at all) and then only on special occasions. The "tikka" (dot) on the Hindu woman's forehead was not liked. One respondent wrote: "we are all equal here," others wrote: "if in Canada dress as Canadians." (Incidentally, I may add, that these negative reactions to the sari are experienced by Indian women in other parts of the world. I recall that in South Africa, where I was born and raised, Indian women in sari were often rudely addressed

as "Mary" by white South Africans, rather than by their correct names, because of the resemblance of the sari to the dress worn by Mary, the mother of Christ!) There was strong dislike too, of Indians speaking their home languages. Again, the feeling expressed was that Indians should speak English if they live in Canada. Several respondents experienced Indian women as pushy, rude, abrupt, out of touch with Canadian culture, ignorant of Canadian customs, unwilling to change.

Examples of combined favourable-unfavourable impressions are as follows: Canadians tended to like the Indian woman's quiet, shy, polite manner, but this liking moved to perceiving her as cold, aloof, unfriendly. A small percentage of the respondents commented thus: "they think they are better than anyone else, snobbish, arrogant." Further, while they tended to like the Indian woman's commitment to her husband and children, they disliked what they described as her submission to her husband, her place behind a man, her subservience. Several Canadians said there was nothing they liked or disliked about Indian women; Canadian males had almost no contact with them. A few people said they had no basis for making judgments about Indian women because of lack of contact, a few refused to generalize from limited contact, and a few said, "they are human like us; when you get to know them, they have a hidden warmth, commitment to friends, hospitality."

Table 8A summarizes Indian impressions of Canadian women. These data are not elaborated in this paper as the present focus centres on the Indian woman in Canadian context. Some treatment of these impressions are given elsewhere (Naidoo, 1976). Suffice to mention at this point that Indian impressions of Canadian women are extremely varied.

The most common liked adjective listed is "friendly"; the most common disliked descriptions pertain to racism. Thus, statements such as the following were made: "look down on immigrants," "brag only they are Canadians," "belittle us."

Analysis and Reflection: Negative impressions of Indian women emerging from the data should be viewed in the perspective of well-known socio-psychological theory. Data should not be generalized to other settings and populations without reflection. Positive intercultural experiences by women who retain traditional dress, customs, and home language on occasion, within educated, cosmopolitan work settings are not questioned by this study. Rather, the perceptions of a random sampling of people - a few professionals, students, and the ordinary man on the street - are presented. In the dynamics of social perception, the visibility factor - whether physical (i.e., different skin colour, eye or hair type, etc.) tends to create social contrast effects; i.e., the differences are exaggerated, and socially distant relationships may arise. This is experienced more intensely by people who cannot identify with others beyond certain limits, defined by their education, their culture and individual life experiences. It is not the experience of people with wider education, cultural and life experiences. The latter category, commonly defined as "liberal," comprises some 20% of the population in social-psychological estimates, some 60% fall in the middle range in terms of tolerance of minority group persons, with 20% falling into the clear "non-liberal" category (Campbell, 1963).

Since one basis for good intercultural relationships lies in the identification process, there is an onus on people in a multicultural

and pluralistic society to take steps likely to promote the process. As is widely recognized one way to achieve this is through increased communication and interaction between people on an informal basis preferably. Unfortunately, the data in this study indicate a general lack of such communication. 67.6% of the Anglo-Saxon respondents say they enjoy informal activities with other Canadian (white) men and women in general, and 77.1% say they interact most frequently socially with other white Canadians. 63.8% of the Indian women respondents say they enjoy informal activities most with "East Indian women speaking my home language," 42.9% say they interact most frequently socially with other Indians, 46.7% say they interact equally with Indians and white Canadians.

Strong in-group feelings within ethnic groups is understandable; within a pluralistic society searching for a common identity while also simultaneously respecting the cultural identity of its multi-ethnic groups, such a high level of exclusiveness within groups is disturbing.

The East Indian Woman in Canadian Context

There emerges a complex duality in the self-identity, in the commitment, and behavioural expression of the East Indian women studied in depth in this survey.

The Indian woman, the study reveals, is both entrenched in the traditional values of her cultural heritage but she also exhibits contemporary, future oriented aspirations. She is deeply committed to her family and home but she also exhibits the potential for high achievement and she possesses high aspirations for herself and her children. She adapts to many forms of behavioural expression in the larger society but there are forms of expression she feels are an integral part of her cul-

tural identity and these she adamantly retains. As stated elsewhere, (Naidoo, 1976), my readings, study, observation and experience lead me to believe that it is important to retain selected aspects of both old and new values and traditions for the wholesome evolution and integration of the personality. Those values which are perceived by a people as critical to the inner self, the sense of identity and personal worth, should be nurtured and preserved for a healthy evolving "new" self, within the host culture. People cannot be expected to, nor should they simply abandon values and philosophies basic to their sense of "being" in too short a period of time, as occurred in the case of Canadian Indians. I have been a member of a minority group all my life and in my perception the gradual evolution in adapting and reconstructing the inner self as people move from home to host culture is a psychologically sounder process than rapid change and abandonment of values that are profoundly meaningful to the inner self. The latter process may well produce disintegration of the inner self with resultant negative features for the minority group itself and the whole culture.

Further, there is an urgent need for more contact and communication between ethnic "newcomers" and the larger Canadian Society at a deeper, more meaningful level, than that of ethnic food and folk dancing. The diversity of values, philosophies, and interpretations of life that immigrant peoples bring with them implies a potentially rich contribution to the host culture.

People of non-western origin have made impressive adaptations to western culture; the reverse cannot be said of people of western origin. Except for a minority, western people remain relatively uninformed about

non-western cultures, philosophies, languages, and religions, adhered to by millions around the globe. In a pluralistic society some compromises, some degree of tolerance, and enlightenment on the part of established Canadians can surely be expected by new Canadians.

Finally, there is a great deal of talent, intelligence, and energy among the East Indian women that the reported research has barely tapped. The Canadian interviewers employed in this study were impressed with the respondents they met. It remains for those of us who are concerned about ethnic groups and their contribution to Canadian society to assist in mobilizing and channelling these attributes towards promoting the creative genius of this great country and the "just" society.

Thank you very much.

Bibliography

Bardwick, Judith M. Readings on the Psychology of Women. New York: Row Publishers, 1972.

Beny, R. & Menen, A. India. Toronto: The Canadian Publishers, McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1969.

Bhatnager, J. Education of Immigrant Children. Canadian Ethnic Studies. 1976, 8, #1, 52-70.

Callahan, S. Feminine response to function. Humanitas. 1971, Vol. 6(3), 295-310.

Campbell, D.T. Social Attitudes and other acquired behavioural dispositions. In S. Koch (ed.) Psychology: A Study of a Science. Vol. 6. Investigations of Man as Socius: Their Place in Psychology and the Social Sciences. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1963.

Cormack, Margaret L. The Hindu Woman. Connecticut: Greenwood Publishing Company, 1974.

Cormack, Margaret L. She Who Rides a Peacock: Indian Students and Social Change. London: Asia Publishing House, 1961.

Dybka, Donna. A cross-cultural comparison of the "fear of success" motive. Unpublished paper, Wilfrid Laurier University, 1977.

Green, Helen B. Socialization values in West African, Negro, and East Indian cultures: A cross-cultural comparison. Journal of Cross-cultural psychology. Vol. 2(3), 309-312, 1971.

Horner, Matina. Femininity and successful achievement: A basic inconsistency. In Krupat, E. (ed.) Psychology is Social. Glenview, Illinois: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1975.

Kapur, R. Role conflict among employed hosuewives. Indian Journal of Industrial Relations. Vol. 5(1), 39-67, (July) 1969.

Lipman-Blumen, Jean. How ideology shapes women's lives. Scientific American, (Jan.) 1972, 34-42.

Mehrabian, A. Male and female scales of the tendency to achieve. Educational and Psychological Measurement, Vol. 28, 493-502, 1968.

Naidoo, J.C. The East Indian Woman: Her Potential Contribution to Canadian Society: Recommendations. Paper presented at the conference on Indians in Toronto. Toronto, Canada, May 1977.

Naidoo, J.C. The East Indian Woman. Toronto: Proceedings of an intercultural seminar on East Indians. 1976.

Naidoo, J.C. & Fiedler, F.E. Perceptions of self and significant others by Indian and American students. Indian Journal of Psychology, Vol. 37, 115-126. 1962.

Osgood, C.E., Suci, G.J. & Tannebaum, P.H. The Measurement of Meaning. Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1957.

Price-Williams, D.R. (ed.) Cross-cultural studies: Selected readings. Penguin Modern Psychology Series. Don Mills, Ontario: Longman, Canada Ltd., 1969.

Queen, S.A. & Habenstein, R.W. The family in various cultures (3rd ed.), Toronto: J.B. Lippincott Co., 1967.

Rapoport, Rhona & Rapoport, R.N. Early and later experiences as determinants of adult behavior: Married women's family and career patterns. British Journal of Sociology, Vol. 22(1), 16-30, 1971.

Report of the Royal Commission on the status of women in Canada. Ottawa: Information Canada, 1970.

Robinson, J.P, & Shaver, P.R. Measures of Social Psychological Attitudes. Ann Arbor, Michigan: Publications Division, Institute for Social Research. The University of Michigan, 1969.

Thiagarajan, K.M. & Lukas, R.A. Personal values across cultures: A study of managers and students in India and the U.S. Journal of Social Psychology, Vol. 85(1), 139-140. 1971.

Vernon Directories Ltd., City Directories Publishers, 17th edition, 1975-76. Ontario: Griffin & Richmond Co., Ltd., 1976.

Warner, W.L. Meeker, M. & Eels, K. Social class in America. Chicago: Science Research, 1949.

Whiting, J.W.M. Methods and problems in cross-cultural research. In Lindzey, G. & Aronson, E. (ed.) Handbook of Social Psychology, Vol. 2. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 2nd ed., 1968.

Table: 1

DESCRIPTION OF SURVEY SAMPLE

Home Country	# Families	10% Sample	Obtained Sample	% Frequency
India	250	25	55	52.4
Pakistan	80	8	12	11.4
Bangledesh	10	1	3	2.9
Sri Lanka	10	1	4	3.8
East Africa	150	15	10*	9.5
Guyana	110	11	12	11.4
Trinidad	75	8	9	8.6
TOTALS	685	69	105	100.0

* Under represented

local Indian population - approx. 3,000

Table: 2

SURVEY SAMPLE BY RELIGION

Home Country	Religion	Frequency	Total (N=105)
INDIA	Hindu	41	
	Sikh	8	
	Muslim	4	
	Christian	3	
	Jain	1	55
PAKISTAN	Christian	7	
	Muslim	5*	12
BANGLEDESH	Muslim	4	3
SRI LANKA	Christian	4	4
EAST AFRICA	Ismaili	5*	
	Ithna-Asheri Uganda	3	
	Hindu (Kenya)	1	
	Muslim (Tanzania)	1	10
GUYANA	Hindu	6	
	Muslim	3	
	Christian	3	12
TRINIDAD	Hindu	2	
	Christian	7	9

* Under represented

Table: 3

SALIENT DEMOGRAPHIC DATA (N=105 Indians; 105 Anglo-Saxon* Canadians)

VARIABLES		Indians Frequency	Anglo-Saxon Frequency
Woman's Age:			
	20-24	24	17
	25-29	23	15
	30-34	24	23
	35-39	20	11
	40-44	7	11
	45-49	6	8
	50 +	1	17
Length of Marriage: (years)	1-5	33	25
	6-10	22	18
	11-15	26	16
	16-20	9	11
	20 +	10	30
# of Children:	1	18	14
	2	31	20
	3	16	32
	4	5	10
	5+	4	3
Length of stay in Canada (years)	1	10	
	2	13	
	3	16	
	4	7	
	.	.	
	6	14	
	.	.	
	10-16	14	

*Data missing on many items.

VARIABLES		Indians Frequency	Anglo-Saxon Frequency
Family Salary:			
	Under $4,999	0	6
	$5,000-9,999	16	12
	$10,000-14,999	16	12
	$15,000-19,999	20	20
	$20,000-24,999	6	12
	$25,000-29,999	9	6
	$30,000 +	7	15
Woman's Education:			
	Primary School	87	92
	High School	85	90
	Clerical	18	16
	Secretarial	24	18
	Teaching Diploma	17	14
	Nursing Diploma	2	8
	B.A. Degree	38	31
	M.A. Degree	18	3
	Medical Degree	1	0
	Ph.D.	1	0
Woman's Religion:	Hindu	46	Rom. C. 10
	Muslim	20	Prot. 74
	Christ.	22	Jewish 1
	Other	12	Other 19
Immigration Status:	Citizen	27	105
	Landed	73	
	Visitor	5	

Table: 4

WOMEN'S ROLE PERCEPTIONS

Beliefs about responsibility for children:

Items	Indians %A-T*	Indians %D-C*	Anglo-Saxons %A-T	Anglo-Saxons %D-C
16. Discipline of children is mother's task	39.1	54.3	15.3	80.9
17. Physical care of children is mother's job	53.4	400	30.5	67.6
18. Natural mother best for child	68.6	24.82	15.3	79.0
19. Even warm affectionate others cannot raise child as mother	54.3	38.1	11.5	84.8
20. Even good day care centres cannot replace mother	77.1	12.4	54.3	38.0
21. Husband's remarriage where wife childless	9.6	87.6	1.9	94.4

Beliefs about women's education and work outside the home:

Items				
27. Women's function is that of wife-mother; not development of talents outside home	33.3	60.0	17.2	80.1
28. Mothers with preschool children should not work outside home	69.5	26.7	56.1	38.1
29. More necessary for men rather than women to attend college/university	16.2	79.1	14.3	80.0
30. Mothers with children should not expect career	17.2	82.0	3.9	95.3
31. Professions should be more available to men than to women	27.6	71.4	15.3	81.9
32. Women's career ambitions must be curtailed if interfere with family	53.4	39.0	45.8	49.5

*A-T= Agree or Traditional response
D-C= Disagree or Contemporary response

Note: Data missing where relevant figures do not sum to 100%

Table: 5

QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS OF "WHO AM I" RESPONSES*

Cue Phrase	Most Frequent Responses	Categorization
1. "I have"	small children good husband	family-centred
2. "I am"	a wife, mother a woman nice, happy, impatient a teacher, typist	family-centred female identity personality traits occupation
3. "I want"	good education for children realize own potential happy family	family education self achievement family-centred
4. "My goals are"	further education happy family life share Indian culture	self-improvement family-centred inter-group relationship

N = 25
Total N = 105

*further data analyses in progress

Table: 6

SENSE OF ACCOMPLISHMENT

My sense of accomplishment outside my home can be:

	Mode	Indians % Frequency	Anglo-Saxons % Frequency
1. Completely fulfilled by my husband's work	Vicarious	3.8	1.0
2. Mostly fulfilled by my husband's work but I need to accomplish something of my own	Traditional	48.7	30.5
3. Fulfilled when each accomplishes equally	Balanced	26.7	18.1
4. Mostly fulfilled by own accomplishments but I need to feel my husband is accomplishing something	Contemporary	10.5	34.3
5. Completely fulfilled by my accomplishments	Direct	2.9	12.4
		N = 97	N = 101

Table: 7

ANALYSIS OF STORY THEMES* (Naidoo-Dybka, 1977)

Theme	Indian Stories (N=90) Frequency	Anglo-Saxon Stories (N=89) Frequency
1. Anne's happiness	32	23
2. Happiness and/or influence of Anne's parents	41	17
3. Continuation of career only	57	37
4. Combination of career and marriage	18	20
5. Career ends after marriage	1	3
6. Poverty in Anne's background	6	0
7. Anne's contribution to society	18	4

ANALYSIS OF STORY THEMES (Horner's categories, 1975)

		Indian Stories Frequency	Anglo-Saxon Stories Frequency
Social rejection Loss Femininity	General social rejection	6	28
	Sacrifice, no dating	0	39
	Conflict female-marriage, career	0	12
	Parental fears re: social rejection	0	2
	Anxiety about future	0	17
Denial	Surprise at results, chance	3	6
	Parental pressure into career	0	4
	Changes career (reality, imagery)	0	2

Table: 8A

CANADIAN PERCEPTIONS OF INDIAN WOMEN* (N=79)

Trait Description	Most Frequent Response
Liked, positive	beauty grace intelligence femininity
Disliked, negative	dirty abrupt customs (dress, "tikka") Indian languages (public/"in company" usage)
Combined positive-negative	quietness, politeness - aloof unfriendly commitment family - subservience to men

Table: 8B

INDIAN IMPRESSIONS OF CANADIAN WOMEN* (N=34)

Trait Description	Most Frequent Responses
Liked positive	friendly frank
Disliked, negative	drinking smoking negative generalizations re Indians racism
General impressions	helpful outspoken nice reserved

*Study in progress - findings should not be generalized until further data are collected.

NEW PERSPECTIVES ON SOUTH ASIAN WOMEN IN CANADA

Josephine C. Naidoo
Department of Psychology
Wilfrid Laurier University

Immigration of peoples of South Asian* origins into Canada commenced at the turn of this century with the entry into British Columbia of the Sikhs from the state of Punjab in India.[1] Since that time the number of South Asians in Canada has increased to an estimated 250,000 scattered across the country, with over 100,000 resident in Metropolitan Toronto and several thousands in smaller cities in the Province of Ontario.[2] During the period 1967-74, large numbers of South Asians came to this country in response to Canadian needs for professionals to fill vacancies in institutions of higher learning. The Ugandan Asian refugees were admitted to Canada on humanitarian grounds in the early 1970s. More recently, the open-door immigration policy of the 1960s and early 1970s has moved to a more restrictive policy. The latter policy followed the introduction of the GREEN PAPER ON POPULATION AND IMMIGRATION published in 1975 which subsequently culminated in the Immigration Act of 1976. Basically the Act links immigration with domestic manpower policy: people likely to be accepted into the country are matched closely with

---

This paper was read at the 18th INTERDISCIPLINARY RESEARCH SEMINAR (9 February 1978), Wilfrid Laurier University, Waterloo, Ontario.

1. T. Ferguson, A WHITE MAN'S COUNTRY: AN EXERCISE IN CANADIAN PREJUDICE, Toronto: Doubleday Canada Ltd., 1975; N. Buchignani, "A Review of the Historical and Sociological Literature on East Indians in Canada", CANADIAN ETHNIC STUDIES, 1977, p.86-108

2. Personal communication, Mr. Ratan Panda, Executive Director, Indian Immigrant Aid Services, Toronto.

*The "South Asian" label is viewed as an acceptable "umbrella" term describing the heterogeneous group of people whose ancestry originates in the Asian sub-continent. The group varies widely in culture, religion, socio-economic status, and immediate country of origin. Earlier writings most commonly referred to these people as "East Indians", "Hindus", "Sikhs" or "Asian Indians".

existing job needs. These needs at the present time, in general, call for less skilled and less qualified migrants. Hence recent South Asian immigration is marked by a shift from people with "white collar" skills to those with "blue collar" skills.

An extensive search into the literature on women of South Asian origins in Canada reveals a dearth of empirical studies on the subject. Thus, for example, the extensive bibliography of some 300 titles on East Indians (South Asians) in Canada compiled by Buchignani does not contain a single title focussing on South Asian women. Although several other documents offering recommendations for alleviating racial tension, hostility, and fear between White Canadians and Non-White new Canadians have been written in the last few years, scant attention is given to the particular experiences and problems of South Asian women in these lengthy documents.[3] Indeed, the empirical literature on South Asian women emanating from the Indian sub-continent is similarly meagre. Only a few in-depth socio-psychological studies of educated South Asian women are readily available. The best known of these are studies by Cormack, Metha and Kapur.[4] Articles on South Asian women who have emigrated from their ancestral homes in Asia to many parts of the world (e.g., Guyana, Trinidad, Fidji, Singapore, East and South Africa) are also few and far between, and generally lack empirical data.

It was the generally poor status of empirical knowledge about South Asian women that motivated the study which is the basis of this paper.[5]

---

3. Examples: LIFE TOGETHER, A Report on Human Rights in Ontario, Human Rights Commission, 1977; W. Pitman, NOW IS NOT TOO LATE, A Report submitted to the Council of Metropolitan Toronto by the Task Force on Human Relations, 1977; B. Ubale, EQUAL OPPORTUNITY AND PUBLIC POLICY, A Report on Concerns of the South Asian Community regarding their place in the Canadian Mosaic, Submitted to the Attorney General of Ontario by the South Asian Canadian Community, 1977; F. Henry, THE DYNAMICS OF RACISM IN TORONTO, A Research Report, Toronto: York University, 1978.

4. M.L. Cormack, THE HINDU WOMAN, New York: Teachers College Publications, 1953; M.L.Cormack, SHE WHO RIDES A PEACOCK: INDIAN STUDENTS AND SOCIAL CHANGE, London: Asia Publishing House, 1961; R. Metha, THE WESTERN EDUCATED HINDU WOMAN, New York: Asian Publishing House, 1970; P. Kapur, MARRIAGE AND THE WORKING WOMAN IN INDIA, London: Vikas Publications, 1972.

5. See Appendix for description of survey study.

The basic inquiry revolved about the question: How do South Asian women living in Canada view themselves--their role perception, self concept, achievement aspirations, religious and philosophical values. A corollary inquiry asked the question: How do Canadians in the larger society view South Asian women? To what degree do South Asian women exhibit culture and value differences and similarities with reference to the dominant Anglo Saxon culture of Ontario, the province most heavily populated by this ethnic minority. Both sets of questions provided data about the broader issue of the status of women in Canada, and about women more generally.

The study also yielded data about the influence of cultural habits on concepts of male-female roles and functions. These data are useful in assessing attitudes towards women based on concepts of biological determinism which tends to undermine the potential achievement-orientation of North American women. In general, studies of North American women reveal a significant negative correlation between a traditional, sex-defined mode of socialization and achievement but a significant positive correlation between the contemporary egalitarian mode of socialization and achievement.[6] The literature indicates that these trends may well derive from the historical-cultural dichotomization of the nature of male-femaleness that existed in western culture until relatively recently.[7] One theoretical focus of the study was to examine the nature of the relationship between socialization and achievement aspirations in the South Asian sample. Given the constraints that only a limited literature on South Asian women is available, some support nevertheless exists for the assumption that a more complementary view of the nature of male-femaleness (even if rather confused and ill-defined) prevails in the South Asian Hindu culture.[8] The tentative expectation that

---

6. J. Lipman-Blumen, "How ideology shapes women's lives", SCIENTIFIC AMERICAN, January 1972, p. 34-42.

7. S. Callahan, "Feminine response to function", HUMANITAS, 1971, Vol. 6(3), p. 295-310.

8. Cormack, 1953, op. cit., with reference to Vedic writings.

may be derived from this assumption is that South Asian women, at least in the elite classes, are perhaps freer to model themselves on behaviours that traditionally have been categorised as either "male" or "female" in western culture. Thus, it may be expected that while South Asian Hindu women may both experience and retain traditionally feminine behaviors, this traditionalism will not necessarily extend to achievement orientedness, i.e., a traditional mode of socialization and achievement may be independent dimensions in the South Asian Hindu culture, rather than correlated dimensions as in western culture.

A third objective of the study related to gaining insight into the methodological problems involved in researching people across cultures. The following issues were explored as a prelude to a more extensive study of the South Asian minority: entry into the home settings of South Asians who tend to be unfamiliar with the process of empirical enquiry, creating rapport and communication with women from a introvert and private culture, ethical considerations from the South Asian perspective, and the usefulness of a North American style behaviouristic approach in studying South Asians.

Finally, the study gave insight into the dynamics of acculturation and integration of a non-Western sub-group within the context of the cultural pluralism characterizing Canadian society. A repeated theme that the federal government presents to the Canadian public portrays unity in diversity, inter-group cultural tolerance as a consequence of confidence in one's own ethnic identity. Thus, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau stated in 1971: "Cultural group freedom from discrimination must be founded on confidence in one's own individual identity; out of this can grow respect for that of others and a willingness to share ideas, attitudes, and assumptions."[9] More recently, the new Governor-General in an impassioned call for unity and understanding argued that in an enlightened federal Canada there is scope for the fullest expression of dif-

---

9. J. Berry, R. Kalin, and D. Taylor, MULTICULTURALISM AND ETHNIC ATTITUDES IN CANADA, Ottawa: Ministry of Supply and Services Canada, 1977, p. 224.

ferent cultural and linguistic heritages.[10] The study examined the evidence revealed as to whether Canadians in general are ready and willing for the level of tolerance envisioned by Canadian leaders.

ROLE PERCEPTIONS AND SELF IDENTITY

The report of the Royal Commission on the status of women in Canada expressed an interest in the perspective that cross-cultural data contribute to our conceptualization of the qualities, functions, and place of men and women in the natural order. As is well documented in anthropological writings, the tension and balance between the sexes may result in very different ways of life and role division from one culture to the next. The Commission recognized that the psychological characteristics of either sex, often taken for granted as derived from nature, may be based instead on cultural habits which in some parts of the world have developed into ideologies.[11]

An extensive survey of how ideology shapes women's lives by Jean Lipman-Blumen attracted my attention. Not surprisingly, she reported that the sex-role ideology[12] (i.e., the system of beliefs regarding the appropriate behavior of women with respect to men) acquired during childhood and adolescence guided the adult woman's perceptions, life goals, educational and occupational aspirations. In her study of the wives of graduate students in the Boston area she found that 27% of the women adhered to a "traditional" ideology and 73% held a "contemporary" ideology. According to the "traditional" view the female role revolves about the belief that a woman's responsibilities are home-making and child-rearing: men are responsible for financial support of family, women with

---

10. THE GLOBE AND MAIL, January 23, 1979, "Schreyer starts term with plea for unity", a report of the inaugural speech of Edward Schreyer, Canada's 22nd Governor General.

11. REPORT OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN CANADA, 1970, p. 11.

12. J. Lipman-Blumen, op. cit., p. 34-5.

children should not expect to have a career. The "contemporary" view is based on the belief that women should be as free as men to pursue educational and occupational goals and that men and women should share equally in responsibilities inside and outside the home.

The Lipman-Blumen study was conducted in the United States. Margrit Eichler, in a recent review article on "Women in Canada" alerts Canadians to the oft made assumption that the match between the two societies is so exact that theories and data are transferable without any alteration. One major thrust of Eichler's article centres on the issue of dependency among Canadian women. She develops the thesis that a state of dependence permeates every aspect of the Canadian woman's experience: cultural, ideological, legal, economic, physiological and psychological. Further, she points out that for female members of marginal groups, such as immigrant women, there exists a state of double dependencies, i.e., the negative effects of their marginal status is reinforced by being female, and being female predisposes them to a more marginal status than comparable males.[13]

One interest explored in my study related to how contemporary South Asian and Anglo-Saxon women in Canada view themselves. Respondents were asked about their beliefs regarding role division in the home, male dominance, responsibility for children and home chores, attitudes towards women's education and work outside the home. What kinds of similarities and differences exist between these two groups of such widely different cultural origins? How do the two groups resident in Canada differ from their American counterparts.?

The South Asian women's role perceptions emerging from this study were more complex than the findings reported by Lipman-Blumen for the American sample. Specifically, the women's beliefs about their role in life showed a <u>complementary interaction</u> between <u>traditional</u> and <u>contemporary</u> expectations for women. Thus the data revealed a slight

---

13. M. Eichler, "Sociology of Feminist Research in Canada", SIGNS: JOURNAL OF WOMEN IN CULTURE AND SOCIETY, 3(2), Winter, 1977, p. 409-22.

belief in role division and male protection, but a strong belief that the responsibility for household chores should be shared even where a woman works outside the home primarily for her own fulfillment, rather than to supplement the family income (79%).[14] The resistance to sole responsibility for household chores may be understood in the context that most of the respondents reported that their mothers had full-time domestic help. Respondents, therefore, came from homes in which women were largely freed from the heavier domestic role that characterizes the woman's role in North American culture. Further, the data showed a strong belief in the woman's ability, and in opportunity for education and careers for married women, even where they have children (82%). Respondents felt that women were capable of assuming positions over men, making their own decisions about voting, and sharing equally in decision-making in the family. However, the respondents showed a decided traditional trend with regard to children. There was considerable feeling in over 70% of the sample that the natural mother is best for the child, that a mother with young children should not work outside the home, and a strong belief that even good day care centres cannot take the place of the mother in caring for the child.

In contrast, the outlook exhibited by the Anglo-Saxon women was clearly extremely "contemporary". Over 80% of the sample do not believe that disciplining children is necessarily the mother's task, nor that the natural mother is always best for the child. Most believe that warm affectionate outsiders can raise a child as well as the natural mother. The data regarding education for women and work outside the home parallel those for the South Asians though in a more marked "contemporary" direction. Thus, the Anglo-Saxon women believe predominantly that mothers with children can still expect a career, that the professions

---

14. Percentages reported in this paper are based on the obtained frequencies of responses to the questions under discussion. Hence, they reflect missing data and tend to be conservative estimates.

should be equally available to men and women, and that women should be free to develop their talents outside the home. Finally, these women also have "contemporary" beliefs about household chores and domestic responsibilities. This attitude prevailed in spite of the fact that, unlike the South Asian families, some 70% of the Anglo-Saxon homes had no domestic help. Hence, mothers of the Anglo Saxon respondents engaged in heavy household work and grocery shopping in addition to child care, cooking, and light household duties. Anglo-Saxon respondents in this study, therefore, had not modelled their behaviors in this respect on that of their mothers.

Insight into the women's self-identity was probed by presenting them with the open ended question: "Who am I?". With reference to this question, respondents were specifically asked to verbally complete the following cue phrases: "I have", "I am", "I want", "My goals are" and "I would like to be".[15]

Again, as with the role perception measure, two similar basic themes emerged from the South Asian self-descriptions. These themes were: "traditional", focussing on self as woman, on home and family, and "contemporary" focussing on education, careers, and achievement for self and children. Other salient themes pertained to: (1) making a favourable impact on Canadians in the larger society, embodied in statements such as: prove I am a Canadian, remove discrimination, share old civilization of India, show South Asians are not underdeveloped; (2) importance of religious values for self and children ("I have devotion to God", "show Canadians that because of Karma we are all here"); and (3) mention of service functions ("helping others", "serving the community", "doing something for the world and the poor").

Perhaps not surprisingly, the Anglo-Saxon respondents perceived their self identity in much the same way as the South Asian respondents -

---

15. M.H. Kuhn and T.S. McPartland, "An Empirical Investigation of Self-Attitudes", AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW, 1954, 19, p. 68-76.

"family-centredness", "family education" is a repetitive theme. Three somewhat more marked foci that emerge as different from Indian responses are: (1) more emphasis on personal recognition (I want more respect, freedom, education, recognition, to be more assertive); (2) a clearer identification on justice for women (I want a feminist community, greater justice for women, to remain single); and (3) a focus on personal growth (My goals are to be important, self-confident, fulfill desire for success).[16]

The data indicate that the South Asian woman in this study portrays a complementary interaction between traditional and contemporary roles in life. She is strongly traditional with regard to motherhood and children, but is quite contemporary with regard to education and careers outside the home, pursuits viewed in the past as the perogatives of men. However, she is both more traditional on motherhood-children issues, and less contemporary on education-careers issues, than her Anglo-Saxon counterpart. Her strong family orientedness emerges again in the self-identity sentence completion test, as does her concern about education for herself and her family.

RELIGIOUS, PHILOSOPHICAL AND CULTURAL CONCEPTS

The religious system which eventually came to be called Hinduism is not only a highly complex religious, theological, and philosophical structure, but a moral, social, ethical, and cultural one as well, which lays down codes of behavior for the individual's daily life.[17] The religious and philosophical themes grapple with the great issues: God and man, time and eternity, the soul, rebirth, existence, duty and fate. A rigid caste system forms the social framework within which Hinduism is set. Hindus believe that they have a divine origin: they believe they descend

---

16. J.C. Naidoo, "Women of South Asian and Anglo Saxon origins in Canadian context: Self perceptions, socialization, achievement aspirations", in C.S. Adamec (Ed.), SEX ROLES: ORIGINS, INFLUENCES AND IMPLICATIONS FOR WOMEN, Montreal: Eden Press, 1979, (in Press).

17. E. Rice, THE FIVE GREAT RELIGIONS, New York: Four Winds Press, 1973.

from Brahma, the Creator, from whose body arise the four major castes: the Brahmans (priestly and most privileged caste) from the head of the Creator; the Kshatriyas (warriors) from his arms; the Vaisayas (traders, agricultural workers) from his thighs; and the Sudras (menial workers) from his feet. Despite progressive legislation in India, a large fifth group, the Panchamas or "scheduled" classes still remain outside and below the four main castes performing the most lowly tasks.[18]

A basic belief deriving from the caste philosophy is that everyone is born into a preordained status in life. Birth defines a person's caste; current birth is determined by actions in the individual's past life, good or evil. Good deeds during one's lifetime beget a better life, a higher status in rebirth; evil deeds result in a lower form of reincarnation (Karma). For this reason, Hindus may not commit any act of violence against any living thing--human, animal, even insect. The moral and social codes based on a person's caste position determine minute aspects of proper and ethical conduct--dress, food and toilet habits, how close or far a person may stand in relation to another. It is the duty of the individual to follow the complex series of rites and rituals inherent in a given caste status (Varna) so as to ensure a righteous rebirth. Further, three other precepts, followed in a balanced manner, are basic to the Hindu way of life: (1) Dharma, duty or socially approved conduct in an individual's relationships with other human beings and all living creatures - religion, social custom, and morality are included in the conceptualization of Dharma; (2) Artha concerns success in the world, in business and politics; and (3) Kama relates to love--to success in dealing with the opposite sex. All cultures and religions in the world have similar precepts, though expressed differently and with varying emphases. The special feature of these precepts in Hinduism is

---

18. Previously labelled "untouchables"; Mahatma Gandhi called them "harijans" (children of God) in his efforts to help them gain admission into Indian society. As is widely known, this objective has not been attained even after 30 years of independence and the adoption of a democratic constitution.

their pursuit in the context of beliefs about rebirth, fate and non-violence.

The influence of three basic concepts of Hinduism on the lives of the South Asian women, many of whom originate in the elite classes of India, was explored in my study. These concepts were: Karma (fate in the light of past actions) or the Will of Allah/God in the case of Muslim/Christian South Asians; Dharma (socially approved conduct); and Varna (duty according to caste function/social class).

The data revealed that the concepts of Karma and Dharma (and the equivalent concepts for Muslims and Christians) have an important influence on the lives of over 60% of the South Asian sample. The concept of Varna had little influence in most cases; so too, deities, saints and prophets as models for emulation were important only to a minority of the women. For Anglo-Saxon Canadians, the Will of God and doing one's duty in socially approved ways had a strong influence on the lives of a core of women comprising about 50% of the sample. However, there was a second core of women - almost 40% - for whom the two concepts had little influence. As in the case of the South Asians, doing one's duty according to social class and modelling behavior on saints and prophets had little influence for sizeable proportions of the women. Overall, South Asians tended to be more conservative than the Anglo-Saxons with respect to these concepts.

Women in both groups considered themselves "somewhat religious". Anglo-Saxons said their religious beliefs had changed "somewhat" since adolescence; South Asians said their religious beliefs had not changed at all since living in Canada or other western countries.

Western views about the place of men and women in society had a strong influence on just 20% of the South Asian women responding to the question; these views had little influence on almost 50% of the sample. Contemporary views about the place of men and women in society had a more marked impact on about half the Anglo-Saxon sample. Again, the Indian women tended to be more conservative than the Anglo-Saxon Canadians.

This study also explored women's perception of the concepts of "female" and "male" from a personal, religious, and cultural perspective. Traditional India has always accorded women a high place in the natural order. Indeed, legends of women rulers and divinities exist in very early history.[19] Statements in Indian literature reflecting this are, for example: "Woman is pure and noble", "Man and woman are the two wheels of a cart...man and woman are the two halves of a whole". The American social scientist and scholar of Hindu culture, Margaret Cormack, says, "equality" for Hindu women means "equal but different", and the complementary nature of male and female elements was stressed in theory and practice in the ancient thinking of India. However, she continues, the male-female concept "in the spirit of the Vedas" has suffered neglect and corruption over the centuries in India-the complementary "idea" has been worshipped, the "real" has been neglected. Complementariness has usually involved the assumption of male superiority and the subjection of women.[20] Edward Thompson extends this view in his comment: "Nowhere was the concept of inferiority of women more exemplified than in the custom of suttee, the Hindu rite of suicide of widows by self-immolation". Indeed, Thompson argues that the custom, prevalent for several centuries B.C. and lasting to some degree into relatively modern times, was an inevitable consequence of the Hindu premise: "to the wife the husband stands in place of the Deity".[21]

Empirical evidence for the latter contention was identified in my study. Many respondents, whether of Hindu, Muslim, or Christian background, asserted that the male-female relationship as they understood and

---

19. V.L. Bullough, "China and India: Inferiority is not only western", in V.L. Bullough, THE SUBORDINATE SEX: A HISTORY OF ATTITUDES TOWARD WOMEN, Urbana: University of Illinois, 1973, p. 231-366.

20. M.L. Cormack, 1961, op. cit., p. 104.

21. Bullough, as cited in E. Thompson, SUTTEE: A HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL ENQUIRY IN THE HINDU RITE OF WIDOW BURNING, London: Allen and Unwin, 1928, p. 16-8.

experienced it within the broader South Asian religious-cultural context ranged from "different and equal" to "different and male superior". However, a considerable proportion of the women (almost 50%) claimed that in actual practice a "different but equal" relationship between males and females influenced their lives most. The meaning of the word "woman" in the Indian culture was perceived as distinctly kind, clean, useful, important, unselfish, and beautiful; but it was also perceived as distinctly "inferior", and only somewhat "good" and "wise" on scales of bipolar adjective opposites.[22]

The picture of male-femaleness that emerged from the Anglo-Saxon sample followed a similar pattern, though the perception of "male" as "different and superior" in the religious-cultural context was endorsed by a relatively higher proportion of the women. So too, as in the case of the South Asians, many women perceived relationships between the sexes in their personal experience as "different and equal" but to a lesser degree (39%). Interestingly, with reference to these relationships in everyday context, a higher percentage of South Asians than Anglo-Saxons endorsed the option, "no difference and equal".

On the measure probing the meaning of the concept "woman" in the two cultures, the image of "woman" as perceived by Anglo-Saxon Canadian respondents was less flattering than that for the South Asian sample, but again, the pattern of endorsement was similar. Thus, Canadian respondents perceived "woman" as clean, useful, beautiful, kind. Deviations from the South Asian perception focussed on relatively lower endorsement of the adjectives: fair, important, unselfish. Overall, the South Asian women seemingly have a somewhat more wholesome view of women and womanhood.[23]

---

22. C.E. Osgood, G.J. Suci and P.H. Tannebaum, THE MEASUREMENT OF MEANING, Urbana, Illiinois: University of Illinois Press, 1957.

23. The biasing effects of response sets, i.e., the tendency to place checkmarks at the extreme ends of bipolar adjectives, have been ruled out as controls for this effect were built into the measure.

In summary, the South Asian women emerge as more uniformly conservative on salient religious beliefs than Anglo-Saxon Canadian women. God, future life, duty, approved behaviors, are important to them. Western religions and values emanating from the new milieu of the host country do not necessarily intrude on their private world. Apparently they are either not consciously aware or willing to admit the impact of western values on their weltanschauung. Moreover, since they are now resident in Canada, and are outside the social context of South Asian countries, this predominantly privileged group no longer feels bound by caste rules in most everyday life interpersonal encounters. In contrast, the Anglo-Saxon women were more perceptive of the changes in their values since adolescence as a consequence of contact with alternate systems. The South Asian attitude may well reflect the holistic, all-encompassing nature of eastern philosophies of life; cognitive attitudes involving analyzing life events, ego assertion, expressions of "I and mine", "my rights", and "my desires" are alien to traditional South Asian women.[24]

THE "FEAR OF SUCCESS" PHENOMENON

A basic definition of achievement motivation is exerting effort to excel, doing things well, striving to succeed when exposed to competition with some criterion of excellence. In western societies achievement behavior is pervasive, and extensive research has been conducted in an attempt to understand the effects on male subjects.[25] Research on achievement motivation in women was neglected basically because predictions made from theory did not hold for women. Following this early period of neglect, several investigators began to consider female motivation. Several suggestions about female motivation were pursued, e.g., women are motivated

---

24. To varying degrees, caste rules remain important in marriage contracts and relationships with people from the "scheduled" classes.

25. D.C. McClelland, J.W. Atkinson, R.A. Clark, and E.L. Lowell, THE ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVE, New York: Appleton, 1953.

more to affiliate than achieve; women seek social approval rather than excellence; women fear failure. One contention that has stimulated extensive research in North America asserted that women were more afraid of success than men. The well known studies of Matina Horner using a story-telling technique, yielded support for the presence of this tendency in women.[26] As is widely known, Horner asked her subjects to tell stories to the verbal cue: "After first-term finals Anne (John) finds herself (himself) at the top of her (his) medical school class". Horner originally reported that in response to these cues, 65% of the women who were tested showed evidence of fear of success versus just 10% of the males similarly tested. Later research showed that factors such as age, geographical location, type of university, and type of situation affected the degree to which women exhibited the phenomenon of "fear of success". Horner explains that women develop a disposition to become anxious about achieving success because they expect negative consequences. Early in life they acquire a latent, stable personality disposition of "fear of success", in keeping with their sex-role identifications.[27]

The concept of fear of success has become very popular in North America. It offers a plausible explanation for why women on this continent, in general, show reluctance to strive for achievement. However, in the last few years, further research has yielded contradictory findings, some supportive of Horner's findings, others non-supportive. Cross-cultural studies of the phenomenon are few and scattered. That fear of success may be significantly influenced by social norms is discussed by Weitzman.[28] As is widely recognized, sex role socialization for girls in North America has the pervasive effect of reinforcement for

---

26. M.S. Horner, "Sex Differences in Achievement Motivation and Performance in Competitive and Non-Competitive Situations", Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, University of Michigan, 1968.

27. M.S. Horner, "Toward an Understanding of Achievement Related Conflicts in Women", JOURNAL OF SOCIAL ISSUES, 1972, 28(2), 157-76.

28. C.J. Weitzman, Sex-Role Socialization. In J. Freeman (ed.), WOMEN: A FEMINIST PERSPECTIVE, Palo Alto: Mayfield Publishing Co., 1975.

adopting traditional female roles, discouraging them from professional and high level executive positions in society. Unfortunately, only a limited literature on ethnic variation in sex-role socialization exists. Most research in this area has been carried out on the Black community in the United States.[29] In an extensive review of pertinent literature, no studies of achievement motivation in South Asian women were located. There are suggestions that other-worldly religions, such as Hinduism, which stress a dissolution of individuality into a universal spirit do not provide the kind of cognitive climate in which achievement motivation flourishes. Empirical evidence for this suggestion is, as yet, lacking.[30]

The present research utilized Horner's story-telling technique to examine the nature of achievement in the two cultural groups. The identical verbal cue used in Horner's work was presented to participants, i.e., they were asked to tell a story about the following situation: "After first term finals, Anne finds herself at the top of her medical school class". The themes in the stories were analyzed using categories emerging from the data as well as Horner's categories. These analyses revealed that for the South Asian respondents success was viewed as bringing happiness to the individual involved and her family in 80% of the cases. Continuation of career was mentioned by 63% or combined with marriage by 20%, and potential contribution to society by 20% of the respondents. There was negligible mention of fear of social rejection (7%); there was almost a complete absence of anxiety about the future, conflict about marriage and career, denial or distortion of success. As described elsewhere, South Asian stories had a "fairytale" tone to them, i.e., "Anne will become a doctor, and everyone will be happy ever after". An example of a typical South Asian story is given below:[31]

---

29. Ibid.

30. L. Marlowe, SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY: AN INTERDISCIPLINARY APPROACH TO HUMAN BEHAVIOR, (2nd ed.), Boston: Holbrook Press, Inc., 1975, p. 131.

31. J.C. Naidoo, 1979, op. cit.

> Anne comes from an educated family with high goals. Anne has chosen medicine as her field of study since she was good in biology and science at high school. Her brother is an accountant and being the younger of the two she wants to prove herself as equally capable. Her parents gave her all the encouragement that was required. She put in a lot of hard work. She has to struggle a fair amount, but after exams finds herself at the top of the class. She is naturally pleased with her success and it adds to her self-esteem and self-respect. Her classmates and professors applaud her success. She goes home to equally happy and proud parents. She sits down with her parents and brother and retrospects about the term and exams and all the ups and downs. The family has a round of celebrations and all end the day very happy and proud. Maybe in all her happiness Anne dreams of herself as a successful gynaecologist or surgeon.

In contrast to the rather simple, straightforward "happiness" theme of the South Asians, stories by the Anglo-Saxon women were more complex, in particular with regard to anxieties and fears about Anne's success. There was a similar own/parents' "happiness" theme (46%), "continued career" (42%) and "combined career and marriage" themes (20%), but clear differences entered the Anglo-Saxon stories beyond these similarities. There were well defined fears of sacrifice, especially with regard to dating (42%), fears of social rejection as a consequence of success (32%), fear of conflict between marriage and career (14%), anxiety about the future (19%) and, there was considerable reflection of denial of success, parental pressure into a career, and distortion of success. The themes in the Anglo-Saxon stories replicated Horner's findings to a marked degree. A typical Anglo-Saxon story follows:

> Anne was a married woman who went back to school when her children were babies. She had a lot of guilt feelings about being there while they were in their formative years. Her husband supported her decision, because he was a truck driver and he knew that she could make more money as a doctor than he as a truck driver. Now that she's finished her first year at the top, her husband is having second thoughts, because he knows that from now on medical school is going to demand even more of her time. And he's feeling lonely, over-worked, neglected - all the things she felt when she was at home with the babies. But she is being insistent about finishing medical school, because she's finally gotten recognition for

> her mind and not admiration for her body. Well, she logically and coolly presents her arguments to her husband, Ralph, and she suggests that now that he's making a little more money, they could hire someone to relieve them both of the caretaking chores. So that solved one of his complaints, and she also agreed that she'd go with him when he had a short trip and take her books along to study and keep him company. And yet it really bothered her because he never made any concessions like that when she had the same complaints. So at least their surface difficulties were solved, but I have my doubts that this couple will see their tenth wedding anniversary.

Several other tests of achievement attitudes, education and career aspirations, and aspirations for their daughters, revealed the high achievement orientation of the South Asian women. Even where statistical controls for the somewhat higher formal educational level (the M.A. degree) of several South Asian women in the sample were imposed, this tendency persists (Naidoo, 1978).[32]

Seemingly, the South Asian woman at the present time has negligible anxiety about success and achievement. She wants both for herself and her children, including her daughters. And she possesses the achievement motivation attitudes and values for bringing high achievement and high aspirations to realization. The "fear of success" data point to the powerful effect of cultural values on achievement motivation. Almost no fears were expressed by the South Asians that academic and professional success would result in social rejection by males. Recall that in the South Asian (Hindu) culture the arranged marriage ("conjugal love") is the basic marriage form. Gupta estimates that "love(romantic)" marriages occur in less than 1% of the population of India.[33] The present sample, therefore, is atypical since approximately half the women responding to the appropriate questions claimed marriage by their own choice ("love" marriage) rather than by parental arrangement (41% versus 46.7% respec-

---

32. Ibid.

33. S.R. Gupta, "Love, Arranged Marriage, and the Indian Social Structure", JOURNAL OF COMPARATIVE FAMILY STUDIES, 7(1), 1976, p. 76-85.

tively). The arranged marriage structure whereby parents have a responsibility to select a spouse for all their children, together with the strong traditional belief that love for women in particular may only blossom within the bonds of marriage, and the extolling of woman as loving wife and mother,[34] combine to ensure that basically all South Asian women will marry. The picture may change as marriage patterns change, as South Asian women experience more aggressive competition, as stereotypes of women's roles portrayed in the mass media of the host country, and attitudes within the larger culture regarding achievement for women, infiltrate their domain.

THE EVOLUTION AND SATISFACTION OF ACHIEVEMENT NEEDS

In the foreword to her book, THE HINDU WOMAN, Margaret Cormack states the following:

> Many of us have long carried around in our heads a confused picture--dingy and colourful at the same time--of the women of India. This picture is a montage of scraps from various sources--the "Mother India" notion of the "downtrodden" women of India...and the exotic sensuous women of the Orient....
>
> When I reached India in the fall of 1950 I was astonished to find something different from this montage: women of dignity, charm, simple beauty in all classes--farm women in the villages, middle class women in the cities, government women in New Delhi--women who were neither helpless and downtrodden nor absorbed in erotic gratification of pampered husbands...[35]

An attempt was made in my study to examine the changes in the women's sense of achievement aspiration from home to host country. In response to appropriate questions, South Asian respondents maintained that the sense of achievement generally shown by women in the family circle in India was traditional--related to roles as mother, wife, home arts, some outside activities. However, the sense of achievement encouraged in

---

34. G.B. Walker, THE HINDU WORLD: AN ENCYCLOPEDIA SURVEY OF HINDUISM, Vols. I & II. New York: Preaeger, 1968.

35. M.L. Cormack, 1953, op. cit., p.v.

respondents by their parents moved from traditional to balanced-contemporary, with a clear component related to seeking higher education, a career or stable occupation, earning money and status. This pattern of change in achievement aspiration was experienced most of their lives. On the other hand, the Anglo-Saxon women, also raised within a traditional family circle, were largely encouraged by their parents to continue to pursue the traditional role.

A further change was reported by the South Asian women on coming to Canada and in their present lives. In general, their current experience of achievement opportunity is traditional and homebound, with only some activities outside the home. The data showed that the women were dissatisfied with this situation and clearly want a more balanced sense of achievement in which they can engage in activities of equal weight inside and outside the home as the ideal for women. Anglo-Saxon women, too, find that they are homebound and traditional in their present lives but more of them reported achieving the ideal balanced mode of life, favoured for themselves and their daughters.

To appropriate inquiries, 70% of the South Asian women say they daydream about playing another role in life or achieving something more, and about 30% give as their major frustration the description, "cannot pursue creative activity of my own outside the home". But in spite of their aspirations and feelings of discontent at not attaining these aspirations, half the respondents (53%) fulfill their sense of accomplishment in the traditional vicarious mode; i.e., their sense of accomplishment outside their home is mostly fulfilled by their husbands' achievements, though they do express a need to accomplish something on their own. A fair number (27%) chose the balanced mode of achievement, but only a small minority (1%) chose the contemporary direct mode. In contrast, the trends for the sense of accomplishment outside the home for the Anglo-Saxon sample was almost a reversal of the trends for the South Asians. Basically, these women chose the direct, contemporary mode of achievement, i.e., approximately 50% of this group's achievement needs

are satisfied through the women's own efforts. One-third of the sample chose the vicarious traditional mode, which is considerably lower than the figure for the South Asians. Interestingly, a higher percentage of the South Asians (27%) than Anglo-Saxons (18%) chose the balanced mode of accomplishment. The data for the Anglo-Saxon Canadians resemble those reported by Lipman-Blumen for American women, though the Canadian data is more clearly contemporaneous. Of the 73% holding a "contemporary" outlook in the American study, one-third chose the direct mode of accomplishment, but over half moved to a vicarious mode of achievement outside the home, fulfilling their aspirations largely through their husbands. The 27% traditionally oriented women in that sample were more consistent, predominantly choosing the traditional option. Only a small number chose the balanced mode.[36]

Thus, the picture that emerges reinforces the traditional character of the South Asian women, already observed in this paper in a more pointed fashion. South Asian women choose the vicarous mode of fulfilling their achievement needs. They satisfy these needs largely through the accomplishments of their husbands. They do, however, reveal some underlying dissatisfaction with this experience, and many do express favourable attitudes towards progressive women's movements in North America. At least at a surface level, nonetheless, they claim satisfaction with their roles in life (78%). These roles range from mostly in the home, part-time and full-time work outside the home, with about one-third of the sample in each category. Ideally, they would prefer a more balanced mode of achievement, in which equal weight is placed on their own and their husbands' achievements. They exhibit high educational and career aspirations; they have little fear of success.

---

36. J. Lipman-Blumen, 1972, op. cit., p.34-42, defines three categories of mode of achievement outside the home adopted by the American women in her Boston study: direct, balanced, and vicarious. Women who preferred the direct mode tend to satisfy their achievement needs predominantly through their own efforts; those who choose the balanced mode place an equal weight on their husbands' accomplishments and on their own; and those who choose the vicarious mode, fulfill their achievement needs predominantly through the accomplishments of their husbands.

However, at the present time, their preferred level of achievement is attained by just 27% of the sample.

On the other hand, although the Anglo-Saxon women had a more strongly traditional socialization than the South Asian women claim, in their present lives they accomplish more through their own efforts, i.e., a direct, contemporary mode of achievement. Most indicate satisfaction with their roles in life (84%). As with the South Asians, they do think, too, that the balanced mode in which spouses can develop equally well, is ideal. Half the sample, however, have surpassed this level, satisfying their achievement aspirations through their own efforts. The more individualistic character of the Anglo-Saxon Canadians in comparison to the Americans may be understood in terms of a complex interaction between cultural, regional, and time factors.

INTERCULTURAL IMAGES OF THE WOMEN[37]

The entry into Canada of South Asians at the turn of the century--peoples distinguished by markedly different racial, cultural, religious, and value characteristics--has not been smooth. Thus, for example. Ferguson details the Komagatu Maru incident of 1914.[38] The Canadian government at the time, in response to White fears of an influx of East Indians (South Asians), Chinese, and Japanese into British Columbia had ingeniously sidetracked East Indian migration from the then British India by the "continuous journey" rule; i.e., East Indians were free to come to British Columbia but only on a "through" ship from India to BC. But at the time there were no such "through" ships! However, an enterprising Punjabi, Gurdit Singh, chartered a Japanese streamer, the KOMAGATU MARU,

---

37. A more detailed treatment of this topic may be found in the following paper: J.C. Naidoo, "Canadian Perspectives on East Indian Immigrants", a Paper presented at the Tenth Anniversary Conference of the Canadian Society for Asian Studies, University of Guelph, May 1978.

38. Ferguson, 1975, op. cit.

to bring 376 prospective Punjabi immigrants to the promised land of British Columbia. On entering Vancouver harbour, passengers were not allowed to disembark. They ran short of food, water and medicines. After much argument and legal negotiation between police, the law and administrators in BC, they were refused entry into the country by court order. Amid violence and hostility from local residents and rioting by passengers, the Canadian cruiser RAINBOW escorted the KOMAGATU MARU out of Vancouver harbour.

White fears of a South Asian "invasion" continue to the present day, although to a lesser degree, and more so in some sectors of Canadian society than in others.[39] The climate of ethnic relations in Ontario during the early 1970s was marred by increasing reports of violence involving White Canadians and new Canadians of South Asian origin.[40] Slowly newspapers and media began carrying reports of overt racism, verbal abuse, and the distribution of hate literature against the newcomers by sectors of the white community. Racial tension, verbal and physical abuse even extended to South Asian children.[41] The antipathy expressed by White Canadians became so pervasive that the Council of Metropolitan Toronto set up a task force on human relations to investigate the racial incidents, the socio-cultural milieu in which they occur, and to offer recommendations for alleviating the situation. The outcome of the study by the task force was a lengthy document entitled, NOW, BEFORE IT IS TOO LATE (Pitman, 1977).[42]

---

39. F.C. Hardwick (ed.), FROM BEYOND THE WESTERN HORIZON: CANADIANS FROM THE SUB-CONTINENT OF INDIA, Canadian Culture Series, #4, Vancouver: Tantalus Research Ltd., 1974.

40. "Half of White Torontonians Racist, Study Says", THE GLOBE AND MAIL, Feburary 28, 1978, p.1.
"Canadians 'Failing' Tolerance Test", KITCHENER-WATERLOO RECORD, November 23, 1978, p.1,3.

41. "Racial Tensions in Schools Could Explode, Trustee Says". THE GLOBE AND MAIL, October, 1978.
"Toronto Riots Predicted if Growing Racial Tensions Not Defused". KITCHENER-WATERLOO RECORD, February 3, 1978.

42. W. Pitman, 1977, op. cit.

It was in the context of this racial zeitgeist in Ontario that this part of the study was undertaken. A random sampling of males and females, students and non-students, were asked three broad questions about their perceptions of women. These questions were: "How do women of East Indian* origin (Canadian) 'come across' to you?" "What do you like about them, and what do you dislike about them?" To date, 189 Canadians and 34 Indians have responded. Hand-distributed questionnaires yield less response from South Asians than from the general Canadian body. Telephone inquiries tend to yield more insightful data from South Asians. Non-student Canadians were mainly white collar workers, a few professionals, and housewives. Non-student South Asians had similar occupational backgrounds, including a few blue collar workers.

Canadian perceptions of South Asian women ranged from statements that were clearly favourable or unfavourable, to combined favourable and unfavourable impressions, to non-judgmental, non-committal type statements. Examples of positive, liked characteristics pertained to the South Asian woman's beauty, grace, intelligence, femininity, mystique, self-control. Negative adjectives used describing disliked characteristics were: dirty, greasy, smelly. Only a minority of the respondents liked South Asian women wearing their traditional dress (the correct label for the Indian dress, "sari" was not used at all) and then only on special occasions. The "tikka" (dot) on the Hindu woman's forehead was not liked. One respondent wrote: "We are all equal here"; others wrote: "If in Canada dress as Canadians". (Incidentally, I may add, that these negative reactions to the sari are experienced by South Asian women in other parts of the world - I recall that in South Africa, where I was born and raised, South Asian women in sari were often rudely addressed as "Mary" by white South Africans, rather than by their correct names, because of the resemblance of the sari to the dress worn by Mary, the Mother of Christ!). There was strong dislike, too, of South Asians

*The term "East Indian" was used in the questionnaire since the label "South Asian" had not gained its current popularity at the time of the study.

speaking their home languages. Again, the feeling expressed was that the South Asians should speak English if they live in Canada. Several respondents viewed South Asian women as pushy, rude, abrupt, out of touch with Canadian culture, ignorant of Canadian customs, unwilling to change.

Examples of combined favourable-unfavourable impressions are as follows: Canadians tended to like the South Asian woman's quiet, shy, polite manner, but this liking moved to perceiving her as cold, aloof, unfriendly. A small percentage of the respondents commented thus: "They think they are better than anyone else, snobbish, arrogant." While they tended to like the South Asian woman's commitment to her husband and children, they disliked what they described as her submission to her husband, her place behind a man, her subservience. Several Canadians said there was nothing they liked or disliked about South Asian women; Canadian males had almost no contact with them. A few people said that they had no basis for making judgments about South Asian women because of lack of contact, a few refused to generalize from limited contact, and a few said, "They are human like us; when you get to know them, they have a hidden warmth, commitment to friends, hospitality".

South Asian impressions of Canadian women were also summarized and inspected. These data are not elaborated in this paper as the present focus centres on the South Asian woman in the Canadian context. Suffice to mention at this point that Indian impressions of Canadian women are extremely varied. The most common liked adjective listed is "friendly"; the most common disliked descriptions pertain to racism. Thus, statements such as the following were made: "look down on immigrants", "brag only they are Canadians", "belittle us".[43]

Negative impressions of South Asian women emerging from the data should be viewed in the perspective of well-known socio-psychological

---

43. For further treatment of these impressions, see J.C. Naidoo, EAST INDIAN WOMEN IN CANADA, Intercultural Seminars, Multicultural Development Branch, Ministry of Culture and Recreation, Ontario, 1976.

theory. Data should not be generalized to other settings and populations without reflection. Positive intercultural experiences by women who retain traditional dress, customs, and home language on occasion, within educated, cosmopolitan work settings are not questioned by this study. Rather, the perceptions of a random sampling of people--a few professionals, students and the ordinary man in the street--are presented. In the dynamics of social perception, the visibility factor-- whether physical (i.e., different skin colour, eye or hair type, etc.), or behavioral (i.e., different dress, social customs, etiquette, etc.), tends to create social contrast effects; i.e., the differences are exaggerated, and socially distant relationships may arise. This is experienced more intensely by people who cannot identify with others beyond certain limits, defined by their education, their culture and individual life experiences. It is not the experience of people with wider education, cultural and life experiences. The latter category, commonly defined as "liberal", includes 20% of the population in social-psychological estimates, 60% falls in the middle range in terms of tolerance of minority group persons, with 20% falling into the "non-liberal" category.[44]

In response to the Interpersonal Measure, frequent comments by White Canadians followed this theme: "if in Canada, dress as Canadians", "I don't know why they wear their native clothing", "dislike jewels worn on the face"; "strange scents", "alien odor", "smell unbearable"; "bothers me when they speak their language", "inability to speak English"; "not in touch with our culture".

Such comments imply that people in the majority group expect the ethnic minority to renounce its ancestral culture and life style. Western dress, the English language, Anglo-Saxon based customs, food and life style are seemingly the only basis for toleration, possibly acceptance. Hughes and Kallen call this the Anglo Conformity Model of

---

44. D.T. Campbell, "Social attitudes and other acquired behavioral dispositions", in S. Koch (ed.), PSYCHOLOGY: A STUDY OF A SCIENCE, Vol. 6, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1963.

ethnic integration, i.e., a one-way process of required acculturation, with the possibility that the minority ethnic culture will become extinct.[45] In contrast, the Cultural Pluralism Model promoted by the Canadian government is at variance with the Anglo Conformity model. Hughes and Kallen point out that cultural pluralism requires that processes of acculturation and assimilation be limited and controlled. Only such degrees of integration necessary for effective participation in the larger society is to be expected of ethnic minorities sharing the country.

For new Canadians the discrepancies perceived between national policy and the expectation of retaining cultural identity with dignity, and the resistance-negativism-hostility encountered in interpersonal relationships creates a dilemma for which they are unprepared. The high degree of ethnocentrism and lack of sensitivity to official policy among at least sectors of the majority group, is obvious.

Since one basis for good intercultural relationships lies in the identification process, there is an onus on people in a multicultural and pluralistic society to take steps likely to promote the process. As is widely recognized, one way to achieve this is through increased communication and interaction between people on an informal basis preferably. Unfortunately, the data in this study indicate a general lack in such communication. Sixty-eight percent of the Anglo-Saxon respondents say they enjoy informed activities with other Canadian (white) men and women in general, and 77% say they interact most frequently socially with other white Canadians. Sixty-four percent of the South Asian women respondents say they enjoy informal activities most with "East Indian* women speaking my home language", and 45% say they interact most frequently socially with other South Asians.

---

45. D.R. Hughes and E. Kallen, THE ANATOMY OF RACISM: CANADIAN DIMENSIONS, Montreal: Harvest House, 1974.

* The term "East Indian" was used in the original questionnaire, as "South Asian" was not in use at the time.

Strong in-group feelings within ethnic groups are understandable; within a pluralistic society searching for a common identity which simultaneously respects the cultural identity of its multi-ethnic groups, such a high level of exclusiveness within groups is disturbing.

CONCLUSIONS: THE SOUTH ASIAN WOMAN IN THE CANADIAN CONTEXT

There emerges a complex duality in the self-identity, in the commitment and behavioural expression of the South Asian women studied in depth in this survey.

The South Asian woman, the study reveals, is both entrenched in the traditional values of her cultural heritage but she also exhibits contemporary, future-oriented aspirations. She is deeply committed to her family and home but she also reveals the potential for high achievement and she possesses high aspirations for herself and her children. She adapts to many forms of behavioural expression in the larger society but there are forms of expression she feels are an integral part of her cultural identity and these she adamantly retains. As stated elsewhere, my readings, study, observation and experience lead me to believe that it is important to retain selected aspects of both old and new values and traditions for the wholesome evolution and integration of the personality.[46] Those values which are perceived by a people as critical to the inner self, the sense of identity and personal worth, should be nurtured and preserved for a healthy evolving "new" self, within the host culture. People cannot be expected to, nor should they simply abandon values and philosophies basic to their sense of "being" in too short a period of time, as occurred in the case of Canadian Indians. I have been a member of a minority group all my life and in my perception the gradual evolution in adapting and reconstructing the inner self as people move from home to host culture is a psychological sounder process than rapid change

---

46. J.C. Naidoo, 1976, op. cit.

and abandonment of values that are profoundly meaningful to the inner self. The latter process may well produce disintegration of the inner self with resultant negative features for the minority group itself and the whole culture.

Further, there is an urgent need for more contact and communication between ethnic "newcomers" and the larger Canadian society at a deeper, more meaningful level, than that of ethnic food and folk dancing. The diversity of values, philosophies, and interpretations of life that immigrant people bring with them implies a potentially rich contribution to the host culture.

People of non-western origin have made impressive adaptations to western culture; the reverse cannot be said of people of western origin. Except for a minority, western people remain relatively uninformed about the non-western cultures, philosophies, languages, and religions, adhered to by millions around the globe. In a pluralistic society some compromises, some degree of tolerance and enlightenment on the part of established Canadians surely may be expected by new Canadians.

On the other side of the coin, there is an urgent onus on South Asians in affluent nations such as Canada, to address themselves to the question of promoting social justice beyond their adopted country, i.e., to India itself. Mathew Zachariah says: "The attempts of Indian (South Asian) immigrants to promote justice in Canada--for example, to ensure equality of opportunity, end racial discrimination, etc.--will gain greater moral strength if we can demonstrate that our concern is broad enough to encompass the world community within which our country of origin receives special attention... we should play a part in helping to alleviate the problems in our country of origin." Elsewhere he points out that such involvement, even from a purely self-centred perspective, must advance the South Asian image in Canada and in the world community. He writes: "Several terms used in the social science literature and international discourse clearly show that there is a superiority-inferiority scale in the minds of many people when they look at the nations of the world. Consider some of these terms: "backward nations",

"underdeveloped areas", "bum and beggar nations", "basket case countries". The degree to which emigrants from a country have prestige in the host country like Canada is significantly related to the political and economic prestige of the country of origin in the international community of nations.[47]

In his exposition of Hinduism, Edward Rice writes: "God appears in masculine forms in Hinduism, but also as neuter and, above all, in the Supreme form, Shakti, as feminine. The Cosmic Being has two aspects: male which is inactive, and female, active". The reported research has barely tapped the talent, intelligence, philosophical richness and energy of the South Asian women studied.[48]

APPENDIX: THE SURVEY

The survey utilized 210 volunteer respondents of South Asian and Anglo-Saxon origins living in adjacent small twin cities in Ontario. They were interviewed by trained Canadian women students in two detailed sessions in the respondents' home settings. A randomly selected minimum sample of 10% from each sub-group within the cities' South Asian community of 3,000 in 1976 was set as the target sample. Just over half this sample was made up of Hindus from India; smaller percentages of women from Pakistan, Bangledesh, Sri Lanka, East Africa, Guyana and Trinidad were also included. Moslem South Asians tended to be under-represented in the sample, but there was a surprising number of Christian South Asians. The latter group is atypical since the Christian religion is followed by only a tiny fraction of the populations of the respective South Asian countries. Seventy percent of the sample were landed immigrants, 26% had citizenship status, and the rest were visitors in the country.

---

47. Mathew Zachariah, "The Role of Indians in Canada: A Missing Dimension", Paper presented at the Conference of the National Association of Canadians of Indian Origins, September 30, 1978.

48. E. Rice, p.23, op. cit.

Respondents of Anglo-Saxon origins were randomly selected from the City Directory on the basis of residential "match" with the South Asians. The Anglo-Saxons were all Canadian citizens, largely of Protestant background.

The detailed biographical data obtained from the respondents revealed a good "match" between the samples on several salient demographic variables. Thus, most women in both groups were in the 20-34 age bracket, married 1-5 years, and most had received at least high school education. There were several women in both groups with higher degrees, the BA in particular; most were "non-students" with an annual family income of $15,000-$20,000. South Asians most frequently had two children; Anglo Saxons three. Husbands in both groups were older than their wives, had received more formal education, and were the main wage earners in the family. There were several men in both groups with post-graduate degrees.

The generally high level of education among the South Asians reflected the elitist nature of the population studied. The presence of several universities in the general area contributed to this characteristic. This factor should be kept in mind when making generalizations about these data.

Some salient research problems encountered were: (1) The South Asians generally preferred Anglo-Saxon interviewers over similarly qualified members of their own ethnic groups. This finding contrasts with the customary success of in-group interviewers reported in the literature. The extreme privacy of South Asian cultures with regard to family relationships, attitudes and values, so openly discussed in Western culture, explains this finding. (2) Younger Anglo-Saxon student interviewers were generally more succesful in establishing rapport with South Asian women than older, more mature looking individuals. Presumably the latter were perceived as somewhat threatening. (3) Several sources of fear and threat seemed to underlie some South Asian reactions to the research. Thus, some people first amiably complied for requests for cooperation but later "forgot" to keep appointments, "dis-

appeared" with no follow-up information, or gave incorrect/nonexistent addresses. Others were most cooperative, positive and confident of the value of the research for the community. (4) More than usual publicity, meetings with leaders of sub-groups in the community, and explanations given at religious-cultural meetings, were required to develop rapport and credibility. As may be expected, there were no such problems with the Anglo-Saxon sample.

The concern about authenticity of interviewee rsponses to questions that may cause people to present themselves in ways that are socially desirable in the culture was examined by appropriate measures in the questionnaire. There was a virtual absence of the tendency for Anglo-Saxons. For the South Asians two major trends emerged: (1) Judgments that related to the respondent herself were not contaminated by the social desirability tendency. Respondents were willing to admit, for example, that they gossip at times, feel resentful when they don't get their own way, feel like smashing things on occasion. Thus, they were willing to admit to private feelings that may not materialize in overt behaviors. (2) Judgements that related to interactions with others, however, seemed to elicit more socially desirable responses, at least from the perspective of Western culture basic to the standardization of such measures. Thus, respondents say they never hesitate to help someone in trouble, they have never disliked someone, they would never go to a movie without paying for it, they are always courteous even to people who are disagreeable. These findings alert investigators to the problems inherent in using measures standardized in one culture on people in another. In her socialization the South Asian girl is raised to develop flexible, kindly, acquiescent interpersonal relationships. Her movements outside the home are restricted and always chaperoned frequently by male members of her family. It may be argued that her responses to the items under discussion were made from the perspective of her cultural socialization, rather than from a motive to present herself in a favourable light. Thus, for example, since she does not normally handle payment at a movie because she is always escorted by males in her family she may have insufficient experience to judge her level of honesty.

CANADIAN PERCEPTIONS OF SOUTH ASIAN WOMEN IMMIGRANTS IN ONTARIO

Josephine C. Naidoo

Wilfrid Laurier University

A paper presented at the Tenth Anniversary Conference of the Canadian Society for Asian Studies, University of Guelph May 23-26, 1978

Abstract

In this exploratory study a random sample of White Canadian male and female students and non-students (N=189) resident in adjoining twin cities in Ontario, were asked about their spontaneous perceptions of South Asian (East Indian) women in Canada. Ranked frequencies of common traits elicited, trait descriptions, and degree of favourability of the traits were reported. Three categories of traits were identified: positive/liked, negative/disliked, and combined positive-negative. These perceptions were examined in the context of selected survey data obtained from South Asian (N=105) and Anglo-Saxon (N=105) volunteers living in the same area. The women in the two groups were middle class, of comparable age, education, family income, and marital status. Selected data about the South Asian women's self-perceptions, their attitudes toward Canadian cultural values, and their lifestyles in the host country were presented. Finally, these two sets of data were viewed in the social-psychological perspective of the dynamics of in-out group relationships, integration, and potential racial conflict with reference to the South Asian minority in the Canadian setting. Reflections on promoting multiculturalism and ethnic harmony in Canada were discussed.

Canadian Perceptions of South Asian[1] Women Immigrants in Ontario

Introduction

The Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism, and Biculturalism, Book IV (1976) sets out the findings of the Commission's primary mandate to examine the "contribution made by the other ethnic groups to the cultural enrichment of Canada" within the context of the bicultural and bilingual character of Canada, and to recommend "the measures that should be taken to safeguard that contribution"(p.1).

Perusal of this document gives little understanding of the composition and characteristics of the South Asian community, its rich cultures and religions, its contributions to Canada. A few paragraphs cover Asian immigration and note is made of the increase in East Indian[2] immigrants since the late 1950's. Data and descriptions presented lag behind current population estimates[3] of South Asians in Canada and the contemporary South Asian experience in this country.

The Commission acknowledges that much of the necessary research and data collection pertinent to its mandate of examining Canadians whose ethnic origin is neither British nor French has never been done. Presumably this admission has particular relevance for the South Asian people and Asian groups more generally.

South Asian Immigration into Canada

Apart from the Sikhs of British Columbia who entered this country in the early part of this century (1905) most South Asians have entered Canada in one of three identifiable movements, primarily in response to

Canadian needs or for humanitarian reasons. Thus:

1. In the 60's South Asian people entering this country were largely well educated professionals who filled vacancies in Canadian institutions of higher learning. As compared with the United Kingdom and France, which included 29.4 percent professionals among their total migrants to Canada between 1965-67 and 37.9 between 1968-72, Asian professionals emigrated at the rate of 51.3 and 44.5 percent respectively.[4]

2. A second wave entered Canada during the emergency period of Asian expulsion from Uganada in 1972.

3. More recently fewer South Asian professionals are entering the country as Canada's "need picture" has changed. Canadian-born professionals have merged in the interim period between the 60's and the present time, unemployment has resulted in more stringent controls on potential immigrants unless sponsored by a relative resident in Canada, and only if the candidates' skills are required in the country. Consequently, more recently, there has been a shift from South Asian immigrant professionals to people with lower level skills to fill positions Canadians are unwilling to take on.

Recent Canadian Attitudes Toward South Asians

The most extensive survey of attitudes of Canadians toward multiculturalism conducted by Berry, Kalin, and Taylor was published in 1977. The survey sampled approximately 95% of the Canadian population, utilizing one-hour interviews, with 1,849 respondents of Angloceltic and French origins and the major European groups: Dutch, German, Italian, Polish, Russian, Scandinavian and Ukranian. The findings of the study relevant to the present paper are as follows:

1. Respondents showed a reasonably high level of overt tolerance for ethnic diversity and a general acceptance of multi-culturalism as a social fact. Thus for, example, the level of acceptability of immigrants who were coloured by the total sample was 65.8%. However, while overt racism, was low, race was an important dimension in categorizing people. Racially different groups appeared at the bottom of the perceived ethnic hierarchy. French Canadians, the less educated, people in the lower economic groups, the younger and the older tended to be more conservative.

Overall, the study gives scattered data relevant to East Indians. Thus, for the total sample, East Indians were assigned above average on the dimension, "stick together", and below average ratings on the dimensions, "hardworking, important, Canadian, clean, similar to me, likeable, well known to me."

When judged with reference to the respondent's self (i.e., myself), East Indians were assigned a rank of '23' by Anglocelts and a rank of '24' by French Canadians respectively (out of 27 possible rankings). These low rankings could not be explained in terms of lack of respondent awareness of the East Indian presence because this minority group was assigned a ranking of '11' (out of 24 possible rankings) on the dimension, "awareness of ethnic groups". The data seemingly contradict two further findings as follows: (a) the Berry study reported that 78.9% of the total sample would accept "immigrants who are highly educated", and (b) the Pitman report (1977, p. 41) stated with reference to South Asians, "probably no group of immigrants has ever come to Canada with more skills and more advanced educational background."

2. Respondents showed a considerable lack of knowledge of government policy regarding multiculturalism; only 1/5 of the sample knew about the policy. Further, there was differential support for various multicultural programs. Community centres and folk festivals were viewed positively. Third language teaching and broadcasting somewhat negatively. Respondents were more tolerant of "permissive integration" (people are allowed to maintain old ways of life) than of "supportive integration" (people are encouraged to maintain old ways of life).

3. The general positive support at the attitudinal level for a multicultural ideology was indicated by agreement to items such as: "there is a lot that Canadians can gain from friendly relations with immigrants" (81.0%), and "it would be good to see all the ethnic groups in Canada retain their cultures" (64.4%). Further, overall disagreement was expressed to the items: it is best for Canada if all immigrants forget their cultural background as soon as possible" (61.6%), and "a person who doesn't speak English has no right to get ahead in Canada" (73.7%).

The relevance of these responses will become obvious when considering white respondents' perceptions of South Asian women examined in the exploratory study reported in this paper.

White Canadian Perceptions

Through the kind cooperation of students and contacts in varied settings in two adjoining communities in Ontario, White Canadian male and female, student and non-student respondents were asked about their spontaneous perceptions of South Asian women. Three broad questions were asked: (a) how do women of East Indian origin "come across" to you?

(b) what do you <u>like</u> about them? and (c) what do you <u>dislike</u> about them? One hundred and eighty-nine Canadians, mainly students, 65 males and 76 females, responded to the questionnaire. Non-student Canadians, 11 males and 37 females, were mainly white collar workers, a few professionals, and housewives.

As Table 1 indicates, Canadian perceptions of South Asian men ranged from statements that were clearly favourable or unfavourable, to shifts from favourable to unfavourable impressions. Examples of posi-

---

Insert Table 1 about here

---

tive, liked characteristics pertained to the South Asian woman's beauty, grace, intelligence, femininity, mystique, self-control. Negative adjectives used describing disliked characteristics were: dirty, greasy, food smells, alien odor. Only a minority of the respondents liked South Asian women wearing their traditional dress (the correct label for this dress, the "sari" was not used at all) and then only on special occasions. The "tikka" (dot) on the Hindu woman's forehead was not liked. One respondent wrote: "we are all equal here", others wrote "if in Canada dress as Canadians" and "dislike jewels worn on face". There was strong dislike too, of South Asians speaking their home languages. Again, the feeling expressed was that South Asians should speak English if they live in Canada. Several respondents experienced South Asian women as pushy, rude, abrupt, out of touch with Canadian culture, ignorant of Canadian customs, perpetuating their own culture, unwilling to change.

Other respondents felt looked down upon in their interactions with South Asians especially in service-type settings; many used the word "arrogant" in describing the women.

Examples of shifts from favourable to unfavourable impressions are as follows: Canadians tended to like the South Asian women's quiet, shy, polite manner, but this liking moved to perceiving her as cold, aloof, unfriendly, lacking spontaneity. A small percentage of the respondents commented thus: "they think they are better than anyone else, snobbish, arrogant." In informal discussions with South Asian women, it has been brought to this writer's attention that the value, "reserve", is a virtue and desirable characteristic in South Asian cultures, in particular for women's behaviour. By contrast, "reserve" is a less desirable characteristic in Canadian culture, and is possibly interpreted as "aloof". Further, while Canadians tended to like the Indian woman's commitment to her husband and children, they disliked what they described as her submission to her husband, her place behind a man, her subservience.

There were some statements which reflected admiration for the retention of the home culture such as: "nice that they retain their culture, other cultures enrich our society, individual enough to keep own culture" but there was a heavier preponderance of statements indicating that respondents felt South Asian women should adapt to the larger in regard to dress, interactions, standards of cleanliness; a few felt they were simply not capable or too inflexible to adapt.

An attempt was made to classify the respondents' statement along a favourable - unfavourable continuum. These data are described in Table 2.

Insert Table 2 about here

Table 2 indicates that a high proportion of the respondents fell into a neutral category, i.e., some people said they had no basis for making judgments about South Asian women because of lack of contact, a few refused to generalize from limited contact, others wrote "no comment, can't judge, no opinion". About 1/3 of the males and females indicated "no contact"; about 2/3 had "occasional contact". Seemingly, the "occasional contact" moves in either a favourable or unfavourable direction which points to the salience of the nature of the contact experience people have in interacting with one another, i.e., contact per se is not necessarily a sufficient basis for promoting positive perceptions and relationships. The few male students falling into the highly unfavourable category made statements such as: "like nothing about them... I'm prejudiced...too many immigrants...customs unacceptable." Non-student females in clerical type settings said: "hard to tolerate...can't keep up to our pace...I wish I didn't have to see any more ever again". Female students tended to be most favourably inclined. An example of a very favourable comment is: "they are human like us; when you get to know them, they have a hidden warmth, commitment to friends, hospitality."

South Asian Self Perceptions

An in-depth interview with residentially matched samples of 210 women volunteer respondents of South Asian and Anglo-Saxon origins respectively was conducted in the women's home settings. Young, attractive, open-minded, flexible Canadian women students trained in the interview

method proved successful in making excellent rapport with the South Asian women, who tend to be culturally private and introverted (Naidoo, in press-a), and unfamiliar with western-based techniques of empirical inquiry. Women comprising the South Asian sample originated in India, Pakistan, Bangledesh, Sri Lanka, East Africa, Guyana and Trinidad. They were represented in proportion to the size of the local subpopulations from these countries.

The dominant home country and religious group represented in the sample was India (52.4%) and Hinduism (47.6%) respectively. Muslim women were under-represented and Christian South Asian women over-represented (25.7%), relative to the populations professing these religions in South Asia. The Anglo-Saxon sample was predominately Protestant (70.5%). Extensive demographic data on the two groups was obtained (Naidoo, in press-a). The modal frequencies on salient variables for the two groups were as follows: age 30-34 years, family income $15,000 - $20,000 per annum, married 1-5 years, with 2 or 3 children. Women in both groups had attended high school and several had obtained the Bachelor's degree. The Anglo-Saxons were all Canadian citizens while the South Asians were largely landed immigrants resident in the country for 1-3 years.

Records were kept by the interviewers on pertinent characteristics of South Asian living. It was considered that these data would lend further understanding of the South Asian presence within the host country and reactions to new environmental forces.

The people interviewed lived in a wide range of housing types, older and more modern, duplexes, townhouses, student apartments. Concentration was high in new modern single dwellings and apartment buildings within

the inner city boundaries.[5] Some people were resident in the suburbs, but there was almost no one living in village and rural areas on the cities' outskirts. Neighbourhoods were mainly middle class, houses were described as "good to very good" by the observers, approximately half had a well kept garden, and most people seemed to own one car and a single garage.

The general cultural tone of the homes visited was predominantly modern, western; some homes combined western and traditional styles. Traditional expressions of art included Indian batik, ivory and wooden carvings, figurines and pictures of major Hindu deities such as Lord Krishna and Lord Shiva, major religious leaders such as Lord Buddha, Guru Nanak (Sikhism), His Excellency the Aga Khan (Ismaili Muslims) and pictures of the holy book of the Sikhs (the Guru Granth Sahib), the holy mosque in Mecca (the sacred Kaaba, enshrining the Black Stone, the only surviving relic touched by the hands of the Prophet Muhammed) and wall hangings with Urdu script symbols for "Allah" and "Muhammed".

Selected South Asian Values and Beliefs

When confronted with the question, "Who am I?", responded to in a set of sentence completion items as follows: "I have", "I am", "I want", "My goals are", and "I would like to be", South Asian women revealed a duality in the nature of their self concept. Two basic themes characterized the spontaneous responses of the women: (i) a traditional-family oriented theme, and (ii) a contemporary-achievement oriented theme. The first theme revolved around home, husband, children, wife and motherhood; the second theme focused on education and self improvement. These two themes were repeated through several sets of data (Naidoo, in press-b), a selection of which is described below.

Thus Table 3 shows that while traditional values involving interpersonal relationships with the family are perceived as salient by the women, contemporary values concerned with development of the self are also perceived as important in the lives of the women. The traditional "cluster" includes values widely recognized as highly esteemed in South Asian cultures such as: loyalty to family, respect for elders, co-operation, doing one's duty. The contemporary "cluster" comprises values such as: self confidence, intellectual ability, developing the self. The importance placed on the value "sexuality" may be understood in the context of the Hindu wholistic concept of life, sexual function, and continuity of life. This conceptualization contrasts sharply with the concept of sexuality portrayed in the west, in particular by the mass media, where sexuality is frequently depicted as an entity apart from the rest of life.

Insert Table 3 about here

Table 4 illustrates the women's attitudes toward Canadian (Western) cultural values. Again, the data reveal a duality in the nature of their responses. On the one hand, the women are traditional in their attitudes toward the family, religion, and marriage. In their Canadian settings they experience values associated with these three factors as "most different from the home culture," they "dislike and don't want" what they judge they perceive around them with regard to these dimensions, and they "want to keep from the home culture", ideas about family, religion, marriage. On the other hand, they are forward moving and contemporary in

certain of their attitudes. Thus, in their Canadian context, they are "most influenced by", "want and admire," educational aspirations, and opportunities for all." On other tests they express no "fear of

---

Insert Table 4 about here

---

success"[6] and they score highly on tests of achievement (Naidoo, in press -b). Corroborating data for traditional attitudes expressed include the findings that the respondents, predominantly Hindu, perceive themselves as "somewhat religious", and they assert that their religious values have "not changed at all" since coming to Canada/western country. The basic philosophical beliefs in Karma[7] and Dharma[8] have a strong influence on the women's lives, but not Varna,[10] except in marriage and in interpersonal relationships with the "scheduled classes" of India.

Humanistic, people related values, are important to the women. Thus, the values they model for their children relate to respect, tolerance, sharing, helping. Informal discussions with South Asian women reveal awareness among them that the values they view as ideal are at view as ideal are at variance with those fostered in the larger more aggressive, competitive, and individualistic society.

Traditional marriage and family styles were viewed favourably; approximately half the sample were married by parental arrangement, the other half by their own choice, a "love marriage."

With regard to Women's Liberation Movements in the West, the women polarize in either a positive or negative direction, i.e., the larger

positively oriented group show favourable attitudes toward such movements from adolescence to adulthood; similarly, the smaller negatively oriented group showed unfavourable attitudes from adolescence to adulthood. Further, most respondents felt that western views about the place of men and women in society have "little-to very little" influence on them.

Several interesting peripheral but relevant observations about the women's lifestyles and manner were recorded by the interviewers. Thus, signs of informal activities engaged in by the women included studying and reading, needlework, handicrafts, and music. There were no food odours in the two-thirds of the homes visited; the odour of spices was present in approximately one-third of the homes, in some cases relating to on-going cooking. Most of the respondents served the interviewers tea or coffee and light South Asian snacks.

The women were predominantly small to average in size, in very good health, with good presence. Numerous positively-toned adjectives were used by the interviewers in describing them: attractive, pleasing, gracious, warm, honest, alert, very lovely, etc. Respondents were generally dressed in western style house clothes and shoes, frequently with traditional style jewellery and hairstyles. Most women had no caste marks on their foreheads.

The women were calm and composed, warm and friendly toward the interviewers, concentrating seriously on the questionnaire and the task at hand. In some cases the women started off rather nervously and in a fixed manner, but relaxed as the interview progressed. Many smiled and joked with the interviewer. Their command of the English language ranged from "acceptable" to mainly "good", with good vitality of speech. There

were negligible occurrences of lapses into the mother tongue. Only a small minority (about 5%) of this volunteer sample required slow, careful probing or an interpreter to complete the interview. Respondents were mostly unfamiliar with the interview method and required a little assistance with the semantic clarification of certain words and questions. Attempts was made to achieve this clarification in a standardized way across all respondents. Overall, they reacted favourably to both questionnaire and the interviewer.

For the most part, there were no disturbances during the course of the interviews which had been made at the mutual convenience of the respondent-interviewer pair. Where distractions occurred these were largely caused by small children (intrusions for attention, crying, laughter) or the television set. Most women handled the situation calmly and competently. Where husbands were present in the home they assisted by caring for the children while the interviews were in progress. There were generally no other adults present. The women showed very good tolerance of the usual noises surrounding a home (from children, music, the television, vehicles on the street).

Overall, the data clearly suggested the following trends in the South Asian women's self perceptions and attitudes toward life: (i) a duality in the nature of their life orientation: traditional and contemporary; (ii) a selective approach in their adoption of aspects of Canadian culture for emulation; (iii) the strong traditional dimension to their self concept plays an important role in determining adjustment and acculturation within the host country; (iv) the women were clearly approachable and friendly once rapport had been established; (v) they

tended to combine traditional and western customs into their personal and living styles.

Multiculturalism in Canada

While the data presented in Table 1 are only suggestive, they seem to imply that people in the majority group expect the ethnic minority to renounce, at least the visible and distinctive aspects of its ancestral culture and life style. Western dress, the English language, Anglo-Saxon based customs, food, life style, again at least in public settings, seem to be a primary consideration for tolerance, perhaps acceptance. Hughes & Kallen (1974) call this the Anglo Conformity Model of ethnic integration, i.e., a one-way process of required acculturation, with the possibility that the minority ethnic culture will become extinct. By contrast, the Cultural Pluralism Model promoted by the Canadian Government is at variance with the Anglo Conformity model. Cultural pluralism requires only such degrees of integration by ethnic minorities necessary for effective participation in the larger society. It also requires some degree of social segregation by the ethnic minorities necessary for the retention and development of the ancestral culture and identity. The model, Hughes and Kallen assert, assumes an invisible wall, consequently social interaction is limited and controlled. The present data admittedly are based on a narrow sampling of respondents; nevertheless they do not offer the general positive support for multiculturalism found in the Berry study (1977), and reported earlier in this paper. This may well mean that people respond differentially at an abstract attitudinal level, as contrasted with a more concrete experiential level. In the Berry study verbal attitudes of White Canadians toward multiculturalism

were studied; in the present study concrete aspects of perception based on the White respondents' experience were tested.

Neither White nor South Asian Canadians expressed any preference for the "melting pot" model of ethnic integration, traditionally the American ideal (Hughes & Kallen, 1974). This model entails extensive interaction between ethnic minorities and a blending of cultures to create a new society, a new identity. However, since the present studies did not ask specific questions about this model within the Canadian setting no generalizations can be made. The question remains to be explored.

For South Asian Canadians the discrepancies perceived between national policy, and the expectation of retaining cultural identity with dignity, coupled with the resistance-negativism-hostility encountered in interpersonal relationships creates a dilemma for which they are unprepared. The high degree of ethnocentrism and lack of sensitivity to official policy among, at least sectors of the majority group, is obvious. The latter statement is supported by the Berry study which revealed a considerable lack of knowledge regarding multi-culturalism as government policy.

It may be of interest that South Asians toy with emulating the so-called Jewish Model as a way of coping with the dual demand confronting them, i.e., retaining cultural identity and simultaneously conforming to expected Anglo Saxon mores. Morley Torgov ("Have Torah, Will Travel", 1978), writes that in the 40's and 50's, Jewish immigrants confronted with a similar dilemma apparently adopted the attitude: Think Yiddish but dress British. Jews in Canada for several decades conformed to Anglo Saxon mores in all public settings, but retained those beliefs and values

essential to the Jewish identity in the privacy of their homes and synagogues. Today there is a reversal in this trend; traditional skullcaps ("yarmulkes"), for instance, are worn openly and with pride in public settings in Toronto.

Perspective of Socio-Psychological Theory

The discussion developed thus far indicates areas of potential conflict between the South Asian minority group and the larger Canadian society based on ethnocentric attitudes within both groups and certain marked value differences. The data presented (Table 1 & 2) reveal a general lack of tolerance of ethnic diversity and at least the rudiments of prejudice in the perceptions of white Canadians. No single theory can explain negative inter-group relationships. Gordon Allport (1958), has captured this idea in his conceptualization of the dimensions operating in the genesis of prejudice, ranging from the most macroscopic (e.g., historical factors), through socio-cultural, situational-socialization factors, and personality dynamics, to the most microscopic (e.g., personal experiences). Traits of the stimulus object, too, may precipitate prejudice. Thus, in our spontaneous social perceptions, the visibility factor - whether physical (i.e., different skin colour, eye or hair type, etc.) or behavioural (i.e., different dress, social and religious customs, etiquette, etc.) tends to create social contrast effects. Differences are exaggerated, similarities are obscured, and socially distant relationships may arise.

The Question of Racism in Canada

In recent years concern has been expressed at several levels of Canadian society at the growing inter-ethnic intolerance that periodi-

cally surfaces in ugly incidents. The question "Does racism exist in Canada, is being asked and examined with greater frequency than in previous periods of Canadian history. The following sources of data offer some commentary on this question.

1. Federal Government "Green Paper" on Immigration, 1975

Following the liberalization of the immigration regulations in the early 60's there was a shift in the source of immigration -- from Britain, and Europe to the Asian countries in particular. Prior to 1967 Asian immigrants comprised on the average less than 4%, but they were more than 23% of "landed" immigrants in 1973 & 1974.[10]

Concomitant with the liberalization of the immigration regulations arose changes in attitudes toward immigration in the Canadian public. In the early 60's attitudes were generally favourable, by 1965 the well educated were more favourable than the lesser educated, though favourable attitudes persisted, but in 1975, for all levels of education, respondents largely endorsed the statement: decrease immigration or keep the number of immigrants at about the current level.[11]

Richard Anthony contends that the publication of the "Green Paper" in 1975 came at a time when Canadians were feeling insecure and threatened by immediate problems such as: inflation, unemployment, housing shortage, and environmental pollution. Public discussion of immigration policies resulted in confusion between these issues and immigration policies. The danger exists that immigrants may be made the scapegoats for the government's failure to handle these more fundamental economic and social problems effectively.[12]

In discussing the implications of the "Green Paper", Howard Pal-

mer,[13] points out that some analysts see the Green Paper as much too restrictive, as showing too much concern about the social effects of non-white immigrants, and the potential negative effect of immigration on the economy and urban life. Other analysts perceive the Green Paper as providing a rationale for restrictive policy on immigration in response to pressures from racists and urban doomsayers. Palmer views the government document as concerned with the long-term effects of immigration on Canadian society, but he criticizes the document for its failure to link immigration with multiculturalism, its failure to present the positive contributions of immigrants. Jean Burnett[14] alerts us further. She points out that while the policy of multiculturalism in a bilingual framework is an excellent policy, it must be implemented with great care and sensitivity because of its relation to immigration and to racism. Pertinent questions raised are, for example, (i) does the policy in fact lead to public acceptance of differences among people, (ii) does the policy inadvertently foster ethnocentrism, racial animosities, and stereotypes in both dominant and minority group members, (iii) do minorities become too engrossed in pressing for their human rights than for their right to be different, respected.

2. The Berry Study on Multiculturalism, 1977

Three interdependent conditions for intergroup tolerance were identified in this study: group definition (feeling of belongingness to a group defined in both objectives and subjective terms), objective group evaluation, free of defensiveness and exaggeration, and group security in its cultural and economic setting. Should any one of these conditions be lacking intergroup conflict may ensue. The study revealed a clear

assumption that one consequence of further immigration would be greater unemployment.

In addition, the study showed that too rigid a conceptualization of "ethnic identity" tends to generate ethnocentric attitudes and subsequent rejection of out-group people, i.e., confidence in one's own cultural identity does not necessarily imply the development of positive attitudes towards others as is sometimes contended. Prime Minister Trudeau's statement of 1971, quoted by Berry et al. (p. 224), "cultural group freedom from discrimination must be founded on confidence in one's own individual identity; out of this can grow respect for that of others and a willingness to share ideas, attitudes, and assumptions" was not supported by the study.

3. The Pitman Report: Now Is Not Too Late, 1977

The Report comprises a sensitive appraisal of the changing character of Metropolitan Toronto, it describes the nature of the South Asian community in that city, and it attempts to create an image of the potential assailant and victim based on true case histories involving 71 people in 31 incidents. Finally, it offers 42 recommendations aimed at arresting the potential dangers of inter-racial violence in Toronto, as the title suggests, Now, before it is too late.

The changing composition of Metro Toronto is presented. Thus, for example, while only 19% of the city's residents were born out of Canada in 1951, by 1971 this figure had risen to 37%. The flow of the visible minorities had also increased and by 1976 this flow comprised 34% European and 59 Non-European peoples. The influx of people of non-western peoples created a "cultural shock" for White Canadians, and the newcomers

were perceived as "taking Canadian jobs". Given the total pressure of urban growth, and the Canadian unity-identity crisis people who exhibited a contrasting experience came to be viewed as a threat.

As mentioned earlier in this paper the high level of training and education of the South Asian community in Toronto is noted, as is the fact that in general South Asians have qualifications beyond employment found in Canada. Pitman asserts that the community is making considerable contributions to Canadian society at professional and paraprofessional levels. This has surprised and shocked native Canadians. South Asians, many of whom come from the wealthy and privileged classes of India and other parts of the world, are in turn, shocked to find themselves at the bottom of the totem pole. Physical, cultural, and value differences exacerbate the social distance between the two groups.

The report offers a series of recommendations for relieving intergroup tension and promoting city development which reflects the true diversity of the community. The recommendations are addressed to all levels of Torontonian society - police, educa tors, social services, the mass media. Efforts to draw the visible minorities into fullest participation in the larger society must be promoted and the existence of racism in the city must be recognized. The report concludes: Toronto must develop an "affection for diversity" for the world of tomorrow will be pluralistic (p. 275).

4. Frances Henry Study of Racism in Toronto, 1978

This study was commissioned by the Office of the Secretary of State to measure the extent of racism in Toronto's population and to determine demographic and other variables which correlated with racist/non-racist

attitudes, with particular reference to brown/black skinned people.

The findings of the study, in general, confirm the findings of similar studies conducted in the United States and other parts of the world. Thus, the study reports the following:

1. A higher incidence of racist attitudes among older (retired) people, women at home (non-participants in the work force), religious people more so than non-religious, lower classes and poorly educated more so than people in the middle classes and the better educated.

2. Southern and Eastern Europeans tend to be more racist than Canadian-born persons or persons born in Britain, the United States or Western Europe.

3. People with authoritarian personality traits reveal more racist attitudes than people with non-authoritarian personality traits.

4. South Asians were seen as more culturally different to White Canadians than were Blacks and they were perceived as more arrogant.

Overall, the study revealed the following distribution of attitudes in the population: 16% extreme racist views, 35% lie in a racist direction, 30% in a liberal direction, and 19% hold liberal views. These figures closely approximate data on the distribution of race attitudes in the United States as identified by Donald Campbell (1963). Efforts at changing attitudes in a more positive direction should obviously be aimed of people in the middling range of the attitude continuum.

Conclusion: Promoting a Pluralistic Canada

In assesssing the data presented in this paper, it seems fair to contend that while there is some degree of negativism in the Canadian perspective on South Asians, attitudes have certainly not "jellied" and

there exist several avenues for improved relationships between the two groups. Some pointers toward this goal which emerge from this paper are the following:

(i) There is an urgent need for people at all levels to have an understanding of the dynamics of inter ethnic relationships. Such understanding will make people's attitudes and behaviour meaningful to them. Scholars in the social sciences must share in the onus of bringing knowledge about these dynamics to the attention of the public.

(ii) Wide scale government sponsored programs are needed to educate Canadians in the larger society for living within a pluralistic society. Several of the studies cited in this paper reveal that Canadians generally are not informed about government policy on multiculturalism and that many people are not ready for racial mix. People should be alerted to the frequently reported lack of correlation between abstract, theoretical conceptualizations of interethnic relationships, and concrete, experiential realities. People should be prepared. Government, educators, churches, social agencies, the mass media, all bear a responsibility.

(iii) Constructive and creative contributions of South Asians (and Asians generally) to Canadian society should perhaps be given more visible recognition in the media, and official documents. Probably, because the Asian community is small, often scant attention is given to their presence and contributions to the society.

(iv) A more enlightened perspective on western cultures and religions within the global context of many other cultures and religions remains to be adopted by westerners generally. A consistent finding in

the literature is that more intolerance is shown by religious and church-going people than by non religious people. One aspect of pluralistic living has to be the recognition and acceptance of the rich spiritual heritage of people outside Christianity - on equal terms. Pluralistic living calls for a more truly reciprocal relationship between peoples of western and non-western origins. These are some of the basic premises for the flourishing of a truly pluralistic society in Canada.

References

Allport, G. W. The Nature of Prejudice. New York: Double Day Anchor, 1958.

Berry, J., Kalin, R. & Taylor, D. Multiculturalism and Ethnic Attitudes in Canada. Ottawa: Ministry of Supply & Services Canada, 1977.

Campbell, D. T. Social attitudes and other acquired behavioural dispositions. In S. Koch (Ed.), Psychology: A Study of a Science, Vol. 6. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1963.

Henry, F. The dynamics of racism in Toronto: A research report. Toronto: York University, 1978.

Horner, M. S. Toward an understanding of achievement-related conflicts in women. Journal of Social Issues, 1972, 28(2), 157-176.

Hughes, D. R. & Kallen, E. The Anatomy of Racism: Canadian Dimensions. Montreal: Harvest House, 1974.

Naidoo, J. C. East Indian women in the Canadian context. In K.V. Ujimoto & G. Hirabayashi (Eds.), Visible minorities and multiculturalism: Asians in Canada. Scarborough, Ontario: Butterworth, in press-a.

Naidoo, J. C. Women of South Asian and Anglo-Saxon origins in the Canadian context: Self-perceptions, socialization, achievement aspirations. In C.S. Adamec (Ed.), Sex roles: Origins, influences and implications. Monograph series in women's studies. Montreal: Eden Press, in press-b.

Pitman, W. Now is Not Too Late. A report submitted to the Council of Metropolitan Toronto by the Task Force on Human Relations, November, 1977.

The Green Paper on Immigration (Special Issue). Canadian Ethnic Studies, 1975, 7(1), 1-79.

Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism Vol. IV: The Cultural Contribution of the Other Ethnic Groups. Ottawa: Ministry of Supply & Services Canada, 1976.

Torgov, M. Have Torah, will travel. Globe and Mail, Weekend Magazine, April 22, 1978, pp. 19-21.

Footnotes

[1]Formerly referred to in Western countries as "East Indians", "Hindus", "Sikhs" or "Asian Indians". In recent years the label "South Asian" has been adopted by this minority as the preferred "umbrella" term describing its heterogeneous composition in Canada. The group varies widely in culture, religion, socio economic status, and immediate country of origin. However, the group has a common ancestry in the Indian subcontinent and tends to be categorized as a single group by people in the larger society.

[2]The labels "East Indians" and "South Asians" are used synonymously in this article since the former term is still widely used in the literature.

[3]Estimates of the South Asian population in Canada provided courtesy of the Indian Immigrant Aid Services, Toronto, are: 1/4 million, with an estimated 100-120,000 resident in Metropolitan Toronto. Cities are unidentified to retain anonymity of participants as far as possible.

[4]Paul, G.S. The Green Paper and third world immigrants. Canadian Ethnic Studies, 1975, 7(1), 4-49.

[5]Observations were made only of items that South Asian informants felt would be acceptable to the individuals involved. Thus, for example, observer estimates of the price range of dwellings occupied by respondents, were considered unacceptable, hence were not recorded.

[6]Fear of success: the disposition exhibited by North American women to become anxious about achieving success because of expected negative consequences (Horner, 1972).

[7]Karma: Sum of a person's actions in one of his successive states of existence, viewed as deciding his fate in the next; destiny.

[8]Dharma: doing one's duty, right behaviour, virtue.

[9]Varna: doing one's duty by the rules of caste or social class.

[10]Richard Anthony. The Green Paper: Reflections on Canadian immigration and population study. Canadian Ethnic Studies, 1975, 7(1), 5-21.

[11]Ibid., p. 11

[12]Ibid., p. 20-21.

[13]Palmer, Howard H. Introduction: Roundtable on the Green Paper on immigration, Canadian Ethnic Studies, 1975, 7(1), 1-4.

[14]Burnet, Jean. Multiculturalism, immigration and racism: A comment on the Canadian immigration and population study, Canadian Ethnic Studies, 1975, 7(1), 35-39.

Table 1

Ranked frequencies of Traits Describing South Asian Women Used by White Canadians (N=189)

Trait Description	Most Frequent[a]
Liked, Positive Traits	Beauty Grace Intelligence Femininity
Disliked, Negative Traits	Unfamiliar Odours (Food) Abrupt Mannerisms Traditional Customs (Dress, "Tikka") Accent, Home Language (Public Use) Class Orientedness, Arrogance Ethnocentricity, Groupiness
Shifts from Positive, Liked Traits to Negative Disliked Traits	Quietness, Politeness to -- Aloof, Unfriendly, Lacking Vitality Commitment to Family to -- Subservience to Men Some Admiration for Retention of Home Culture to -- Unwillingness to Integrate, Rigidity

Note: [a] In general negative comments had a stronger affective tone than positive comments.

Table 2

Degree[a] of Favourability of White Canadian Perceptions of South Asian Women
N = 189

Respondents	Highly Favourable	Favourable Direction	Neutral	Unfavourable Direction	Highly Unfavourable
Student Males N=65	1	16	30	14	4
Student Females N=76	2	26	28	18	2
Non-Student Males N=11		1	6	2	2
Non-Student Females N=37	3	10	8	12	4

Note: [a] Based on judgments of balance between positive versus negative traits assigned; neutral point describes statements such as: "no comment", "can't judge", "don't know", "no contact", etc. Respondents in the neutral category generally had no contact with South Asian women.

Table: 3

X^2 Values and Frequency Scores for South Asian and Anglo Saxon Responses Toward Salient Values in Life

Salient Values	Most Important South Asians	Most Important Anglo Saxons	Important South Asians	Important Anglo Saxons	Neutral South Asians	Neutral Anglo Saxons	N South Asians	N Anglo Saxons	X^2	df	p
developing the self	52	18	41	51	6	29	102	103	33.85	4	.001
intellectual ability	26	5	60	57	15	31	103	104	26.46	4	.001
self confidence	66	48	35	56	2	1	103	105	8.00	2	.05
sexuality	64	32	35	53	4	17					
perserverence	63	35	40	69	-	-	103	104	14.62	1	.001
doing one's duty	20	6	35	25	35	39	101	101	22.08	4	.001
co-operation	55	20	39	66	7	13	102	104	27.85	4	.001
respect for elders	37	19	61	61	4	23	102	103	19.15	2	.001
first loyalty to family	59	35	40	57	4	8	103	103	13.44	3	.01
obedience to authority	36	15	49	58	13	23	102	104	14.83	4	.01

Note: [a] A 5 category scale was used, ranging from most important-most unimportant. Only 3 categories are reported; unreported categories were endorsed with low frequency.

Table: 4

Frequency Values for Attitudes Toward Canadian (Western) Mores
(N = 105 South Asians)

Most Influence	F	Admire & Want	F	Dislike & Don't Want	F	Most Different From Home Culture	F	Want to Keep From Home Culture	F
educational aspirations	58	educational aspirations	64	ideas about family relationships	51	ideas on marriage	52	ideas about family relationships	65
opportunities for all	55	opportunities for all	54	ideas on marriage	44	ideas about family relationships	51	religious ideas	40
dress	36	dress	28	ideas about material things	28	food & drink	36	ideas on marriage	36
social customs	36	privacy at social arrangements	20	privacy at social relationships	19	social customs	35	social customs	34

Women of South Asian and Anglo Saxon Origins in the Canadian Context: Self Perceptions, Socialization, Achievement Aspirations

Josephine C. Naidoo

Wilfrid Laurier University

Presented at the Canadian Psychological Association Annual Meeting:

Institute on Women, Ottawa, June 1978

Abstract

This exploratory study examined the role perceptions, religious values, adolescent socialization, and achievement aspirations of middle class women of South Asian (N=105) and Anglo Saxon (N=105) origins interviewed in their home settings. The volunteer respondents in the two groups were of comparable age, education, family income, and marital status. South Asians emerged as more strongly traditional on home, motherhood, and religious issues than Anglo Saxons. Their adolescent role socialization was warm and close but firmly controlled and protected. On measures of education and achievement they revealed a stronger desire for both than their Anglo Saxon counter parts. They exhibited high achievement orientation and, in contrast to the Anglo Saxons, showed little "fear of success". Stronger emphasis was placed on education during adolescence for South Asians than for Anglo Saxons. The findings suggest that a traditional mode of socialization and achievement may be independent dimensions in the South Asian Hindu culture rather than correlated dimensions as in Western culture. This suggestion is linked with the Hindu concept of female duality. Problems encountered in the research process were considered.

Women of South Asian[1] and Anglo Saxon Origins in the Canadian Context: Self Perceptions, Socialization, Achievement Aspirations

Introduction

At this critical point in the history of Canadian unity, the fullest participation and active commitment of all segments of the population to Canada, to Canadian institutions and to Canadian society and culture is an issue of concern. Such commitment poses complex questions for new Canadians. These revolve around the dual demand of identification, communication and social acceptance within the host culture, and the retention of those facets of the original culture perceived as critical for cultural identity and integrity of the inner self-concept.

In traditional Indian thinking, the ideal woman was selfless, gentle, devoted, retiring, loyal and obedient. These characteristics were symbolized in the figure of Sita,[2] devoted wife of Rama, and were acted out in extreme acts of loyalty as embodied in the ancient practice of "suttee".[3] However, the contemporary South Asian woman has experienced change and acculturation both in response to forces within India and in response to pressures in the western world.

One of the better known in-depth sources of data inquiring into these changes in women within India derive from studies by Margaret Cormack (1953, 1961). Cormack's book, The Hindu woman (1953) reports on how Indian girls internalize the traditional feminine role. Her later study, She who rides a peacock (1961) studies the conscious awareness and attitudes of Indian students to social change in the process of "traditional" India becoming "modern". Women students in this study expressed the

aspiration of self-realization through the development of the individual potential.

More recently, articles on women in India have appeared at sporadic intervals. These tend to be published in more obscure journals and are usually based on the writer's naturalistic observations and impressions. Two of the better documented studies (Jacobson, 1976; Srinivas, 1977) portray subtantially different pictures of women in India. The Jacobson study portrays a dismal picture of pervasive discrimination and deprivation allegedly borne by the mass of Indian women while the study by Srinivas presents a more positive image of female political participation, education, careers, and upward mobility.

Similiarly, articles on South Asian women who have emigrated from India to many parts of the world are few and far between, meagre in content, and lacking in empirical data (David, 1964; Uberoi, 1964). These studies focus on processes of acculturation in South Asian communities as they adapt to environments outside the Indian subcontinent. The best known writings on South Asians in the Republic of South Africa are those of sociologist Fatima Meer (1969). Empirical studies on women of non-western origin living on the North American continent are virtually non-existent except as parts of larger surveys of ethnic minorities.

The present paper: 1. Examines the self perceptions, selected religious values, and achievement aspirations of a large sample of women of South Asian origins ($\underline{N}$=105) resident in two adjunct cities[4] in Ontario Canada. These data are further examined in the context of adolescent role and achievement socialization.

2. Makes comparative analysis on similar dimensions for a sample of women of Anglo-Saxon origins, matched by resi-

dential location (N=105).

3. Reflects on the South Asian woman in the Canadian context, providing cross-disciplinary perspective on her self-concept, the realization of her potential, and her contribution to the larger society.

Demographic Profiles of the Samples

210 volunteer respondents of South Asian and Anglo-Saxon origins were interviewed in two detailed sessions conducted in the women's home settings. The interviews were conducted by 10 female university students in their senior year who were trained for this purpose. An in-depth interview schedule was utilized which probed the variables of interest to this study. These variables were drawn from the American and cross-cultural literature on psychology and sociology. Some modifications were made for research pertinent to the South Asian culture.

Since official population records by ethnic background are not available in Canada, population estimates for the South Asian group resident in the twin cities were based on listings provided by local cultural and religious organizations and well-informed individuals within the South Asian community. A randomly selected sample of 10% from each subgroup within the South Asian community was set as a target sample.

Women from India, Pakistan, Bangledesh, Sri Lanka, East Africa, Guyana and Trinidad were included in this sample. Table 1 identifies the countries of origin and religious affiliation of the respondents.

Insert Table 1 about here

---

105 respondents of Anglo-Saxon origins were randomly selected from the City Directory (Vernon, 1976) on the basis of a residential "match" with the South Asian women.

Detailed biographical data were obtained from the respondents. These data revealed a good "match" between participants in the two groups on demographic variables which investigators employing the survey technique generally attempt to control. Thus, both South Asian and Anglo-Saxon women were relatively young, in the 20-34 year-old age bracket, married 1-5 years, with 2 or 3 children. Respondents in both groups were "non-students". Husbands were main wage earners, receiving on the average an annual salary of $15,000-$20,000. Women in both groups had received high school education and several had obtained the Bachelor's degree.

South Asians were primarily Hindu by religion; Anglo-Saxons were primarily Protestant. Most South Asians had lived in Canada for 2-3 years. 73 were landed immigrants who planned to become Canadian citizens, 27 were Canadian citizens and 5 were visitors. The Anglo-Saxons were all Canadian citizens.

Reactions to the Interview Process

Soliciting the cooperation of the Anglo Saxon respondents was straightforward. A letter of explanation followed by a telephone call generally resulted in the potential respondents' ready expression of willingness.

Soliciting the cooperation of the South Asian respondents was far more complex and demanding. Although most people responded with interest, even enthusiasm, there were individuals both men and women, who viewed the research with reserve. There were two basic explanations for this

attitude. (1) South Asians regard their values, attitudes and relationships as extremely private. They do not readily discuss questions pertaining to home and family. (2) there was anxiety about possible "leaks"[5] in data viewed as private. There were also fears about negative repercussions ("damaging"[6] effects) that might arise from the study findings.

Personal contacts, telephone discussions, explanatory meetings with leaders, religious and cultural groups, television and radio presentations helped allay anxieties and served as excellent foot-in-the-door techniques. Less personalized approaches (mailed requests, flyers placed in grocery shops and theatres) yielded negligible response.

No single set of interviewer characteristics can be labelled the appropriate "successful" set for entry into the homes of this particular ethnic group. An early attempt was made to use in-group interviewers to facilitate rapport and communication. However, some potential participants viewed this with apprehension, preferring to talk with out-group interviewers. Since most women sampled spoke English fluently, Anglo-Saxon student women interviewers were employed. Initial uncertainties gave way to productive, enjoyable, even memorable experiences for both interviewer and respondent.

In this writer's judgment, paper-and-pencil measures and standardized interview schedules tend to yield rather sterile data about South Asians. The more informal observer-participant method used extensively by anthropologists yields more insight into the rich, complex inner life of this group of Canadians. In addition, this method facilitates entry into this community and creates the much needed rapport more readily.

Selected Comparative Features of the Samples

Self-identity and role perceptions

The "Who am I" sentence completion test (Kuhn and McPartland, 1954) was used to probe the women's self perceptions. The descriptions given by both South Asian and Anglo Saxon respondents to the cue phrases: "I have", "I am", "I want", "My goals are", "I would like to (be)", which comprised the test were simple, concrete and straight forward. A content analysis of the responses revealed some well defined similarities for the two groups and some interesting differences. Table 2 describes these data.

Table 2 about here

As Table 2 indicates, similiar responses revolved around the following basic themes: (i) family centredness (children, husband, wife-motherhood), (ii) the self as "woman" and as unique (me, a person) (iii) personality traits balanced between desirable and undesirable traits (I am kind, nice, sincere, unselfish, intelligent, happy, versus I am impatient, get annoyed, like to gossip, have a bad memory), (v) material possessions (car, home), (vi) skills, training, education, the professions (I am a teacher, artist, nurse, doctor, typist) and (vii) self and family education, achievement and realization of potential.

Both the family oriented theme and the education themes were somewhat more marked for the South Asian group. South Asians also frequently mentioned a "good" (i.e., understanding) husband, "good" (i.e., obedient) children. They showed more concern about others and in "helping" activities. There were a few mentions of wanting to return to India.

Three themes in the Anglo Saxon responses emerged as clearly different from those of the South Asians. These were: (i) more emphasis on personal recognition (I want more respect, freedom, recognition), (ii) an identification of justice for women (I want a feminist community, justice for women), and (iii) a focus on personal growth (I want to be creative, effective, assertive). In general, there was more focus on the self in the Anglo-Saxon responses.

A quantitative measure of beliefs about role division in the home, male dominance, responsibility for children and household chores, and women's education and work outside the home was also used (Lipman-Blumen, 1972). Responses for the two groups on this measure yielded much the same picture. The South Asian woman is strongly "traditional" with regard to home, motherhood and children, but she is quite "contemporary" with regard to education and careers outside the home. However, she is both more traditional on motherhood-children issues and less contemporary on education-career issues, than her Anglo-Saxon counterpart.

Adolescent Sex Role Socialization

An intensive survey of the respondents' sex role socialization during adolescence was made. Questions pertaining to the interpersonal relationships within the family, discipline, modelling, and interaction with parents were included in the survey. A multiple choice format was used. χ^2 tests of significance for the responses of the two groups to the survey items were computed. For those items yielding significant differences between the two groups the percent contribution of each choice comprising the item to the total χ^2 was computed. The percent relative frequencies of responses for South Asians and Anglo Saxons to these

choices were obtained for all significant items. This procedure for the inspection of data was followed for all items reported unless otherwise stated.

South Asian respondents perceived many dimensions of similarity for girls and boys. For example, girls and boys were expected to be equally loyal to family, obedient to family, concerned about others. Both experienced the same degree of decision-making by parents.

It was in the domain of protection, control of emotions, responsibility for actions, doing one's duty, and freedom to move outside the house unaccompanied that South Asian respondents reported clear differences between girls and boys. These differences also emerged as significantly different from the socialization experiences of the Anglo-Saxon sample. South Asian adolescent girls were raised in far more protected, controlled, and sheltered home settings.

Responses to relevant open-ended questions revealed that this pattern of control over the behaviour of the adolescent girls was bound up with the important place of virginity, being "good" and "moral", in the South Asian culture. The slightest hint of sexual transgression was viewed as a dishonour to the entire extended family unit.

To the question, "What did 'being a girl' mean to you during adolescence?", most South Asian respondents singled out the restriction on their movements outside the home. On the whole, no resentment about this was expressed: only one respondent said "Being born a girl is hell! Terrible to be a girl!".

On the whole the negative aspects of the restrictions that the girls experienced were balanced by a feeling of being "special", "loved

by people," "getting attention". Some respondents said "I was pleased to be a girl." These warm, close, happy relationships within the family were reflected in the data. South Asians perceived significantly warmer, more secure, less frustrating family relationships than the Anglo-Saxon women. They also felt and functioned more as part of their family circle than the Anglo-Saxon group.

The South Asian women perceived their mothers as significantly more satisfied with their role in life during the girls' adolescence than the Anglo Saxon women. Significantly more South Asian respondents were raised with domestic help in the home in contrast to Anglo-Saxon respondents. The South Asians, therefore, came from homes in which women were largely freed from the heavier domestic role that, until the advent of labour saving devices, characterized a large part of the women's role in North American culture.

Achievement Aspirations:

As is commonly recognized in Protestant societies, hard work and the pursuit of success became moral ideals and many analysts (Weber, 1930; McClelland, 1961) contend that these moral ideals led to the economic accomplishments of the Protestant societies. Given this hard work equals success oriented climate, why is it that the female sector of North American society is besieged by a condition described and documented by American psychologist, Matina Horner (1975) as "fear of success"?; i.e., why is it that women in North American society experience anxiety about achieving because they expect unfavourable consequences arising from success, such as: fear of losing friends, not finding a marriage partner, becoming lonely, isolated, unhappy.

Horner used a story telling imagery technique to elicit achievement responses from American female college students. Her content analyses of these data revealed that even women who were competing successfully at college displayed fear of social rejection, concern about their femininity/ normality and their stories revealed denial of success.

In general, research on achievement motivation in cross-cultural samples of women is limited. To this writer's knowledge, no empirical research has been conducted on achievement aspirations in cultures, such as the South Asian, where there is no dating system, where every girl's marriage is almost assured because part of her father's duty is to find a spouse for her, where romantic love is not a major component of marital expectation, and where marriage is often by parental arrangement (present South Asian sample: marriage by arrangement 46.7%; by own choice, "love marriage" 41.0%), i.e., where many experiences likely to generate anxiety and fear, as identified by Horner, are not a significant aspect of the culture.

The present study utilized Horner's story-telling method to probe the nature of achievement motivation in South Asian and Anglo-Saxon women. Participants were asked to tell a story about the following situation: After first term finals, Anne finds herself at the top of her medical school class. The themes in the stories were analyzed using categories emerging from the data as well as Horner's categories.

Insert Table 3 about here

Table 3 reveals that for South Asian respondents there was negli-

gible occurrence of anxiety connected with the expectation of success. Respondent story imagery did not reflect feelings that success would result in social rejection or loss of femininity/normality. Rather, success was viewed as bringing happiness to the individual involved, as well as to her family, a bright and continued career was predicted, and potential contributions to the society were envisioned. Indeed, many South Asian stories had a "fairytale" tone to them: "Anne will become a doctor, and everyone will be happy ever after".

Stories by Anglo-Saxon women were more complex, especially with regard to analyses of the anxieties likely to be experienced by Anne. Table 3 shows clearly that while the "happiness-success-continued career" theme of the South Asian stories did emerge in their stories as well, there was a well defined anxiety component based on fear of social rejection of various descriptions.

The story-telling analysis of achievement was augmented with tests of achievement attitudes, aspirations for the women themselves, and for their daughters. In the achievement orientation test (Mehrabian, 1968, 1969) respondents are asked to indicate their preference for one of two settings or experiences. A higher level of achievement orientation is purportedly inherent in one of the two choices. Thus, for example, agreement with the following statement would indicate high achievement orientation: At school/ college I would think more about getting a good grade, than worry about getting a bad grade. Disagreement with the statement, which focuses on worrying about getting a bad grade, would indicate low achievement orientation.

Significant ^{2} test values were found between the responses for the

the two groups on 13 of the 26 items comprising the test. A similar pattern of significant differences was found even when the data for 20 South Asian respondents with higher academic qualifications than the Anglo-Saxon respondents were excluded from the analysis. Table 4 presents the data for 5 items for the more precisely matched samples.

Insert Table 4 about here

While these data should be interpreted with caution, they indicate that the South Asian respondents exhibit a high achievement orientation. Thus, for example, as Table 4 shows, at school they would focus more on getting a good grade, than worry about getting bad grades; they think of the future rather than the past or present; they think it very important to do a job well, even if this means not getting on with co-workers; they prefer something which is challenging or difficult to something at which they feel confident and relaxed.

In a further test of behavioural intentions regarding education and career opportunities in Canadian context, South Asian respondents claimed they would take advantage of such openings if made available in the community. They also claimed they would be willing to help in the promotional work entailed in arranging education-career openings for women new to Canada. The Anglo Saxons expressed significantly less interest in these activities.

Finally, on an appropriate set of questions, both groups of women indicated that they think "very often or occassionally" about education and careers for their daughters. There was a significant difference in

the women's aspirations for their daughters. Most South Asian women chose the doctoral level (60.0% of 50.5% responding), in particular, a medical career (49.1% of 54.3%). Anglo Saxons chose bachelors degree/ university courses most frequently (50.8% of 64.3% responding). There was no clear choice on the highest career level they might desire for their daughters.

Adolescent Achievement Socialization

An indepth investigation was made of the respondents' achievement socialization during adolescence. Questions were presented in multiple choice format. ^{2} tests of significance for responses made by the two groups, percent relative frequencies of item choices, and percent contribution of these choices to the total ^{2} were computed.

The South Asians reported that there existed a deep respect for learning and education in their homes. Indeed, the Goddess Saraswati, symbol of learning and knowledge (fine arts) is glorified by many. Apparently these women were encouraged to model their behaviour on the best educated people in the family. They claimed that parents had higher achievement expectations of them than for boys in their family circle and that parents encouraged high school performance through frequent rewards. Fathers shared the girls' intellectual interests more frequently than mothers, but both parents valued higher education for women. These several effects emerged as significantly more pronounced for the South Asian sample.

The one dimension which contrasts to the reported positive achievement socialization of the South Asians pertained to items about freedom to explore the environment. Adolescent South Asian girls were less encouraged, and more discouraged from exploring their environment than boys in

their family circle. This experience was significantly greater for South Asian adolescent girls than for the Anglo Saxons. Interestingly, though not yielding significant differences, neither South Asians nor Anglo-Saxons as girls had ever experienced "fear of success" because of fear of social rejection, or being unattractive as a marriage partner, i.e., the concept of "fear of success" was unknown to either group during adolescence.

Religious and Philosophical Beliefs

Traditionally three concepts of Hindu thought influenced the South Asian women's life: Karma (fate, future life) or the Will of Allah/God in the case of Muslim/Christian South Asians, Dharma (doing one's duty according to the rules of one's religion), and Varna (doing one's duty according to caste function/social class).

The significant ^{2} values for the responses of the two groups of women to inquiries about the influence of these concepts in their lives is reported in Table 5. Inspection of the percent contribution of the category choices to the total ^{2} and percent relative frequency of these choices indicate some clear differences.

Insert Table 5 about here

As Table 5 shows, the data indicated that the concepts of Karma and Dharma (& the equivalent concepts for Muslims & Christians) influence South Asian women's lives very strongly; the concept of Varna had little influence on most women, but a strong influence on a small core. Dieties, saints and prophets, as models for emulation in the women's lives, had a strong influence on about one third of those responding.

For Anglo-Saxon Canadians, the Will of God and doing one's duty according to the rules of religion had relatively very little/little influence on the lives of sizeable proportions of the women. Doing one's duty according to social class and modelling behaviour on saints and prophets also had little influence.

Women in both groups considered themselves "somewhat religious". Anglo-Saxons said their religious beliefs had changed "somewhat" since adolescence; South Asians said their religious beliefs had not changed at all since living in Canada or other western countries.

In a corollary study more insight into the meaning of Varna for the South Asian Hindu women was obtained. Brahmin origins (highest or most privileged caste in traditional India) were claimed quite commonly by these women. Pride in their origins was expressed, but at the same time there was willingness to accept people in other castes, even in marriage where caste still assumes importance in South Asian settings, so long as the people involved were not of Harijan[7] origins. The women were quite candid about their emotions and anxieties when they found themselves unexpectedly in the company of harijans in social settings or found themselves in competition with them in academic settings, in particular where special privileges are accorded these people by Indian law. The women clearly thought caste was more important in India. There was also clear recognition on the cognitive level that negative feelings associated with the harijans or scheduled classes of India were irrational and morally wrong. However, the women acknowledged that these feelings were "ingrained" as they put it, and that they over came such emotions only with extreme difficulty.

Inquiries about values that would be perceived as the equivalent

of the ten commandments yielded a three-fold system, summarized as: tolerance, respect for all human beings; sharing, giving, being helpful; dharma - doing one's duty - elaborated to explain that ultimate perfection is self denial of all desire, leading to the experience of perfect satisfaction. The women reported that they encouraged their children to internalize these values through modelling and the use of parables.

They stressed that while the formal setting out of values is to be found in Hindu texts such as the Bhagavad Gita, basically Hinduism is a way of life. They expressed the feeling that in day to day living the implementation of their value system comes across as rather nebulous to Canadians in the larger society. Moreover, the women felt that as they become acculturated to the host country they tend to forget the terminology for many of their religious and philosophical concepts. However, they maintained that the meanings of these concepts were still very clear to them.

In terms of external symbols of religious values, the women reported that many people maintain shrines in their homes in Canada. Sometimes these are small, sometimes sizeable such as a walk-in closet. Shrines are usually viewed as areas of private worship. South Asians do perform puja/prayer ceremonies in Canadian settings. Ceremonies follow either a traditional or contemporary format, e.g., talks on aspects of religious values to which friends are invited, when people move into a new home. Temples that are being constructed on the North American continent serve religious and cultural needs. People find that a cultural centre is more acceptable in the Canadian context than an exclusively religious centre and they are responding to this perception.

Dietary rules pertaining to abstention from meat and meat products, traditionally viewed as raising one to a purer spiritual state, are modified by many in the Canadian context. Some women reported that on coming to Canada they moved to a meat diet to compromise with the eating habits of their husband, children, and friends. Others reported experiencing extreme abhorance and nausea at touching and preparing meat. As a consequence husbands had changed to vegetarianism.

Summary Reflections

Assertion-Activity-Achievement in South Asian Women

In general, studies of North American women reveal a significant negative correlation between a traditional mode of socialization and achievement and a significant positive correlation between a contemporary mode of socialization and achievement (Lipman-Blumen, 1972). The literature indicates that these trends may well derive from the historical-cultural dichotomization of the nature of female-maleness that existed in western culture until relatively recently (Cormack, 1961, Lipman-Blumen, 1972, Callahan, 1971). One theoretical focus of the present study was to examine the nature of the relationship between socialization and achievement aspirations in a sample of South Asian women. Given the constraints that only a limited literature on middle class South Asian women is available, there nevertheless exists some support for the exploratory assertion that a complementary view of the nature of female-maleness (even if rather confused and ill-defined) prevails in the South Asian Hindu culture (Cormack, 1961 with reference to Vedic writings pre-600 B.C.). The tentative expectation deriving from this assertion is that middle class South Asian women are perhaps freer than Anglo Saxon women

to model themselves on behaviours that traditionally have been categorized as either "female" or "male" in western culture. Thus, it may be expected that while South Asian women may tend to both experience and retain traditionally feminine behaviours, this traditionalism will not necessarily extend to achievement orientation, i.e., a traditional mode of socialization and achievement may be independent dimensions in the South Asian Hindu culture, rather than correlated dimensions as in western culture. Some support for these expectations was found in the present study. South Asian women emerge as clearly traditional on values pertaining to home, family, children and religion. However, the data indicate that they do not experience 'fear of success", they show high achievement orientation, and they have high aspirations both for themselves and for their daughters. Further testing is required to establish the generalizability of these findings.

Recognition is given to recent findings that contemporary North American women are more androgynous people (Bem, 1975) than their counterparts of former eras. Consequently the future may also point to independence between the dimensions of mode of socialization and achievement for North American women.

If, indeed, traditional socialization and achievement aspirations are independent dimensions for the contemporary South Asian woman, the question may be raised as to the possible origins of this orientation. Reference to anthropological writings on women in Hindu tradition (Wadley, 1977) offer some insight. These writings, based on analyses of Hindu mythology and religious texts, assert that the female in Hindu ideology presents an essential duality. Figure 1 illustrates this con-

ceptualization in simplified form.

Insert Figure 1 about here

A. In Hindu cosmology, all life emerges from a unity between matter ("prakrti" or the female, nature, undifferentiated component) and spirit ("purusa" or the male, symbolically culture and differentiated component). The male component contributes the hard substance (structure, bones, nerves, etc.), the female component contributes the soft substance (unstructured, flesh, skin, etc.).

At biological conception all human beings partake of matter and spirit. However, since the female component is equated with nature, earth, soil into which man places his seed, designated as more important in the Laws of Manu (sacred text, written about A.D. 200), women partake more of nature.

B. The female component itself comprises an important duality: on the one hand it comprises the nature-matter-earth-nurturant ("prakrti") component; on the other, it comprises an active-energizing-potentially aggressive component ("Sakti"). "Sakti" is conceptualized as the energizing principle of the universe. It underlies both creation and divinity and is female; all human beings have their share of sakti (endowed at birth but increased or decreased through later actions). "Sakti", therefore, is embodied in the woman, and is the original Energy of the Universe

This writer speculates that the existence in Hindu cosmology of a concept of duality in the female nature--a duality comprising a powerful,

active element, albeit ideally submerged--is a "plus" for South Asian women. Inherent in this active element is the potential for achievement, activity, involvement, social action and potential contribution to the larger society. However, in a recent corollary study of the image of South Asian women held by Canadians in the larger society (Naidoo, 1978) findings indicated that this image is dominated by the nurturant component.

Respondents frequently perceived South Asian women as intelligent but they found it hard to integrate this intelligence with the traditional behaviours they observed. South Asian women themselves understand that their role socialization, despite their academic training and achievement aspirations, has not equipped them with assertiveness skills for coping with North American culture.

There is a need for South Asian women and men to gain a new perspective on a balance between the two elements in Hindu cosmology, nurturant (traditional) and active (contemporary). This calls for a re-assessment of many traditional Hindu beliefs and values within the new context of the host country.

References

Bem, Sandra L. Sex role adaptability: One consequence of psychological androgyny. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1975, 31, 634-643.

Beny, R. and Menen, A. India. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1969.

Callahan, S. Feminine response to function. Humanitas, 1971, 6(3), 295-310. Cormack, M.L. The Hindu woman. New York: Teachers College Publications, 1953.

Cormack, M. L. She who rides a peacock: Indian students and social change. London: Asia Publishing House, 1961.

David, L. The East Indian family overseas. Social and Economic Studies, 1964, 13, 2, 383-396.

Gandhi, M. Harijan. Ahmedabad India: Navajivan Press, 1933.

Horner, M.S. Femininity and successful achievement; A basic inconsistency. In Krupat, E. (Ed.) Psychology is social. Glenview, Illinois: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1975.

Jacobson, D. Indian women in processes of development. Journal of International Affairs, 30 (2), 1976-77.

Kuhn, M.H. & McPartland, T.S. An empirical investigation of self-attitudes. American Sociological Review, 1954, 19, 68-76.

Lipman-Blumen, Jean. How ideology shapes women's lives. Scientific American, (January) 1972, 34-42.

McClelland, D.C. The achieving society. Princeton, N.J.: Van Nostrand, 1961.

Meer, F. Portrait of Indian South Africans. Durban: Avon House, 1969.

Mehrabian, A. Male and female scales of the tendency to achieve. Educational and Psychological Measurement, 1968, 28, 493-502.

Mehrabian, A. Measures of achieving tendency. Educational and Psychological Measurement, 1969, 29, 445-451.

Naidoo, J.C. Canadian perspectives on East Indian immigrants. A paper presented at the Tenth Anniversary Conference of the Canadian Society for Asian Studies, Guelph, May, 1978.

Pitman, W. Now is not too late. A report submitted to the Council of Metropolitan Toronto by the Task Force on Human Relations, 1977.

Srinivas, M.N. The changing position of Indian women. Man, 1977, 12, 221238.

Stein, J. & Urdang, L. (Eds.) The Random House dictionary of the English language. New York: Random House, 1966.

Uberoi, N. Sikh women in Southall. Race, 1964, 6 (1), 34-40.

Vernon Directories Ltd., City Directories Publishers, 17th edition, 1975-76. Ontario: Griffin & Richmond Co. Ltd., 1976.

Wadley, Susan S. Women and the Hindu tradition. Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society. Vol. 3, #1, 1977, 113-125.

Weber, M. The Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism. New York: Scribner's, 1930.

Footnotes

[1]The "South Asian" label is viewed as an acceptable "umbrella" term to describe the very heterogenous group of people who have their ancestral roots in the Asian subcontinent. (Pitman, 1977) It is also viewed as a term that gives this broad brown-skinned group a recognition of personal dignity, at a time of general unfavorable attitudes in sectors of Canadian society.

[2]In the Ramayana, one of the most popular religious texts of India found in Sanskrit and most venaculars, Sita exemplifies the behaviour of the proper Hindu wife, devotedly following her husband into exile for 14 years. Many adventures take place during this period, including the capture of Sita by the evil Lord Ravana, the King of Sri Lanka. Sita remains a loyal and virtuous wife throughout these trials. The reunion of Rama and Sita is celebrated throughout India at Diwali, one of India's major festivals (Beny & Menen, 1969).

[3]Hindu practice whereby a widow immolated herself on the funeral pyre of her husband; abolished by the English in 1829 (Stein & Urdang, 1966).

[4]Cities are unidentified to respect complete anonymity of participants.

[5,6]Words used by potential respondents.

[7]"Children of God" the term used by Mahatma Gandhi to describe the "untouchable" castes of India whose social status he strove to uplift. (Gandhi, 1933) Today referred to as the "scheduled" classes.

Table 1

South Asian sample distribution and religion

Home country	# families	10% sample	Obtained sample	Religion	Frequency	Totals %
India	250	25	55	Hindu	141	
				Sikh	8	
				Muslim	4	
				Christian	3	
				Jain	1	52.4
Pakistan	80	8	12	Christian	7	
				Muslim	5*	11.4
Bangledesh	10	1	3	Muslim	3	2.9
Sri Lanka	10	1	4	Christian	4	3.8
East Africa	150	15	10	Ismaili (Uganda)	5*	
				Ithna-Asheri (Uganda)	3	
				Hindu (Kenya)	1	
				Muslim (Tanzania)	1	9.5
Guyana	110	11	12	Hindu	6	
				Muslim	3	
				Christian	3	11.4
Trinidad	75	8	9	Hindu	2	
				Christian	7	8.6
Totals	685	69	105		105	100.0

*under represented
local South Asian population: approx. 3,000

Table 2

Content analysis of South Asian and Anglo Saxon "Who Am I?" Responses

Cue Phrase	Typical Responses	Frequencies South Asians (N=104) #	Frequencies Anglo Saxons (N=100) #	Categorization
1. "I have"	children, family	56	45	family centered
	husband	28	19	
	car, house	22	16	ownership
	happiness, security	21	59	personal traits
	education, career	16	9	education
	friends	11	12	friendship
	a good life	-	15	quality of life
	music, reading	10	-	interests
2. "I am"	a wife, mother	82	68	family centered
	a woman	34	30	female identity
	nice, happy, impatient	128	181	personality traits
	a teacher, typist, student	24	24	occupation
	me, a person, an individual	16	23	self focus
3. "I want"	good education for children	15	17	family education
	realized own potential, career	34	20	self achievement
	happy, healthy family	18	23	family centred
	car, home, money	18	24	material possessions
	to help others	12	-	other -oriented
	perfection, truth, harmony	10	7	spiritual state
	recognition, respect, freedom	-	30	personal recognition
	justice for women	-	10	women's liberation
4. "My goals are"	further own education	36	23	self-improvement
	successful family life	17	19	family centred
	success as wife-mother	17	9	role success
	travel, return home (South Asians)	23	12	travel
	money, home, car	10	14	material possessions
	self-confidence, fulfillment	-	40	personal growth
	share South Asian culture	7	-	inter-group interaction
5. "I would like to be"	good wife, mother	35	14	family oriented
	social worker, teacher	26	17	career aspirations
	useful, educated learn skills	49	10	self-improvement
	famous, rich, creative, confident, effective	27	111	personal growth
	close rich-poor gap, work for broken homes	6	-	meaningful service

Table 3

Content Analysis of themes in story completion test for South Asians and Anglo Saxons

Themes	South Asians (N=90)[a] Frequencies #	% [c]	Anglo Saxons (N=89)[b] Frequencies #	% [d]
1. Anne's happiness	32	35.56	23	25.73
2. Happiness, pride &/or influence of Anne's parents	41	45.56	17	19.10
3. Continuation of career only	57	63.33	37	41.57
4. Combination of career and marriage	18	20.00	20	20.20
5. Career ends after marriage	1	1.11	3	3.38
6. Poverty in Anne's background	6	6.67	0	-
7. Anne's contribution to society	18	20.00	4	4.49
8. General social rejection	6	6.67	28	31.46
9. Sacrifice, no dating	0	-	39	43.81
10. Conflict re: marriage/ career	0	-	12	13.48
11. Parental fears re: social rejection	0	-	2	2.02
12. Anxiety about the future	0	-	17	19.10
13. Expression of surprise at results, chance	3	3.33	6	6.78
14. Parental pressure into career	0	-	4	4.46
15. Reality distortion	0	-	2	2.02

Note. [a,b]Data collection was incomplete at this point of analysis. Inspection of the additional data supports the theme structure given in the table. [c,d]Percentages are based on frequency of a given theme to total sample of persons in each group.

Table 4

x^2 and % values for South Asian and Anglo Saxon responses on selected items of the Mehrabian Achievement Scale for females

Achievement Scale Items	High achievement direction[b]	x^2, df, p values	% total x^2 achievement direction	Relative % South Asians	Frequencies[a] Anglo-Saxons
1. At school/college I would think more about getting a good grade than worry about getting a bad grade.	-	32.56, 7df .001	70.3	95.3	79.9
2. I would rather do something at which I feel confident and relaxed than do something which is challenging and difficult.	-	23.99 8df .002	86.7	58.8	44.8
3. I think more of the future than of the present and past	+	18.09 8df .02	71.9	71.8	57.7
4. I worry more about whether people will praise my work than I do about whether they will criticize it.	+	24.81 8df .002	71.2	42.4	26.9
5. It is very important to me to do my work as well as I can even if it means not getting along well with my co-workers	+	19.82 8df .01	73.7	62.4	55.7

Note. [a] 20 South Asians with M.A. degree and above were excluded in this analysis to equalize the two cultural groups on the education dimension. N=85 South Asians, 104 Anglo Saxons.

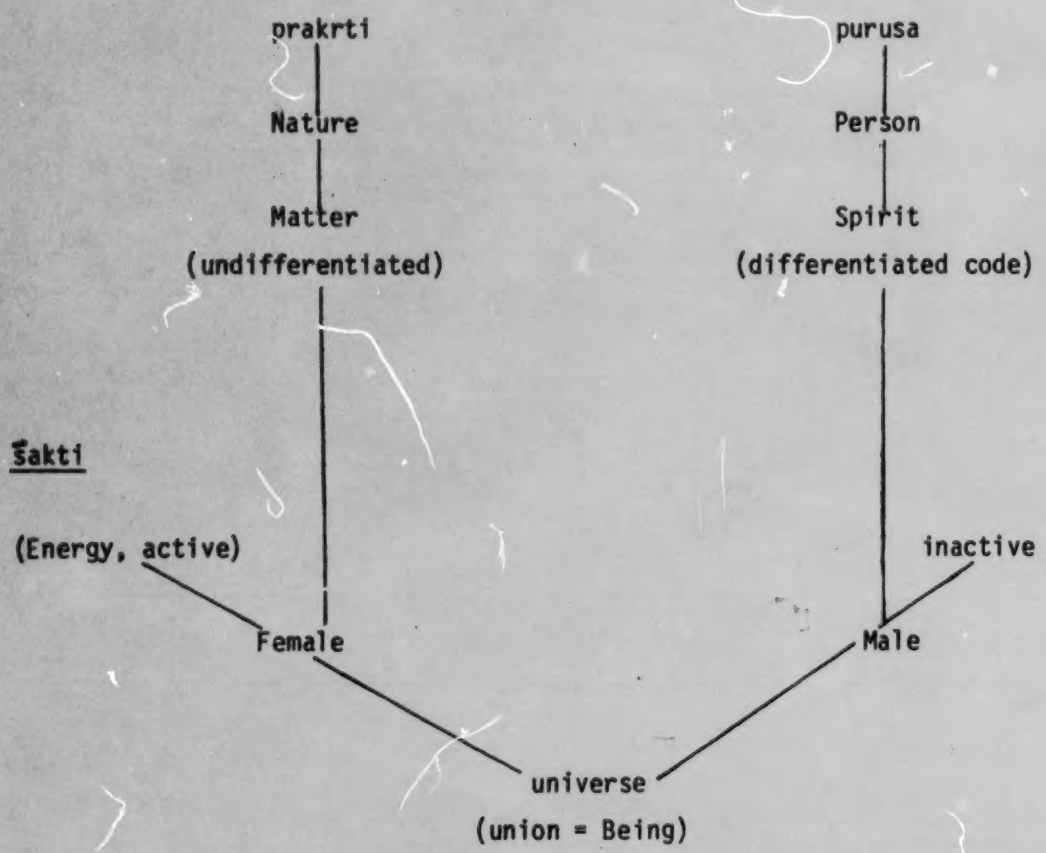
[b] + = strong agreement with statement; - = strong disagreement

Table 5

X^2 and % values for South Asian and Anglo Saxon responses toward basic beliefs

Influence of basic values	Karma Will of Allah/God			Dharma Doing one's duty by religion			Varna Doing one's duty by rules of caste/ social class			Dieties Saints Prophets		
	Relative % South Asians	Frequency Anglo Saxons	% of total	Relative % South Asians	Frequency Anglo Saxons	% of total	Relative % South Asians	Frequency Anglo Saxons	% of total	Relative % South Asians	Frequency Anglo Saxons	% of total
very strong	38.8	19.1	59.8	39.1	21.7	48.7	11.2	3.3	36.9	14.0	3.8	31.0
strong	31.8	37.2	3.8	36.8	37.0	0.0	20.0	25.3	5.0	19.3	6.4	34.1
little influence	16.5	18.1	0.7	13.8	28.3	48.2	18.8	35.2	40.1	26.3	21.8	2.1
very little	12.9	25.5	35.7	10.3	13.0	3.0	50.0	36.3	18.1	40.4	67.9	32.9
N	85	94		87	92		80	91		57	78	
X values	10.136, 3df			9. 144, 3df			10.412, 3df			13. 551, 3df		
p values	< . 02			< . 03			< . 02			< . 004		

Figure 1: Hindu concept of female duality



Note. From "Women and the Hindu Tradition" by S.S. Wadley, Signs, 1977, 3, #1, 113-125, Copyright 1977 by the University of Chicago. Reprinted by permission.

BEING NON-WHITE AND FEMALE

The Causes of Prejudice in Global Perspective

Josephine C. Naidoo
Psychology Department
Wilfrid Laurier University

Presented at the National Conference of the National Association of Canadians of Origins in India (N.A.C.O.I.)
Toronto, September 29 - October 1, 1978
Conference Title: Role of Indians in Canada

The Causes of Prejudice in Global Perspective

Topic Approach:

This paper comprises a conceptual-theoretical view of prejudice based on a review of the literature, and illustrated with qualitative, experiential data, rather than more rigorous, quantitative based data. The paper should provide a useful framework, global in perspective for our discussions of the topic: Being Non-White and Female.

Opening Comments:

In my life experience in many parts of the world, being a member of a visible minority as well as being female, has elicited a wide range of responses from majority group members. Prejudice, as I have encountered it, has spanned a continuum ranging from extremely positive, through neutral-indifferent, to extremely negative. Among educated, liberal-minded people, including South Africa, my natal home, reactions are typically positive; there is sometimes a halo effect, and as a result favourable traits may be inflated and overgeneralized.

Among less educated, less liberal-minded people the reverse has usually been true in my experience. Thus, I have experienced being ignored in shops, thrown off buses, called names, etc.; even being refused membership as a psychologist in a national psychological association because of ethnic affiliation.[1]

Illustration:

I recall my visit to the American consulate in Pretoria for a scho-

---

[1]In the Republic of South Africa several years ago. I believe this situation has been altered more recently.

larship interview. At that time (the 50's and 60's),[2] rigid segregation between whites and non-whites existed in all public facilities in South Africa. On that occasion, to my dismay, I found the elevator for Non-Whites was out of order and the elevator man, looking quite hostile, barred me from the white elevator. I had to walk many flights of stairs to the Consulate! On the way down, the consular officer, grasping my dilemma, kindly came to my rescue by escorting me into the white elevator and signalling to the unhappy-looking elevator custodian that I was his guest. An embarrassing episode, illustrative of negative-hostile behavior on the part of one person, and positive extension of the self on the part of another.

It has been my experience, therefore, that prejudice in day to day living may polarize in either a positive or negative direction. However, in the psychological literature, the term has increasingly come to connotate <u>negative</u> attitudes and feelings toward particular people. To put the subject in perspective, this paper will focus on the following issues discussed under the rubric of <u>prejudice</u>:

A. Definition and types of prejudice;

B. A theoretical view of the causes of prejudice;

C. Criteria used in categorizing people;

D. Distribution of prejudiced attitudes in the population;

E. Toward true integration as minority group females.

---

[2]Some "cracks" in the rigid segregation in public facilities have appeared in the 70's in South Africa, e.g., domestic flights, post offices are more integrated. Many people feel these "cracks" represent mere "window dressing."

A. Definition and types of prejudice

Definition of prejudice: Prejudice is an antipathy (negative emotion) based upon faulty and inflexible generalization. It may be felt (attitude - cognition) or expressed (behaviour - discrimination). It may be directed toward a group as a whole, or toward an individual because he is a member of that group. In order for the antipathy to develop there must exist some positive referent (one's own group) for comparison. The object of prejudice is placed at unjust disadvantage in relation to the larger society (Allport, 1958).

Prejudiced attitudes depart from three ideal norms of society, i.e., the norm of rationality (the persistent refusal to correct misinformation, stereotypes, and overgeneralizations); the norm of justice (concept of equal treatment - the American creed, U.N. Human Rights Declaration); the norm of human-heartedness (acceptance of other individuals in terms of common humanity) (Harding et al., 1969).

Types of Prejudice: Prejudice may operate at several levels of society as listed below:

(i) The individual level (belief in the superiority of one's own group - race, sex, religious, language group - over another, and the behavioural enactments that maintain those superior-inferior positions).

(ii) The institutional level (conscious manipulation of institutions to achieve racist or sexist objectives - restricting the choices, rights, mobility of certain groups of individuals).

(iii) The cultural level (contants elements of (i) and (ii) - belief in the superiority of one's own cultural heritage over that of another group, e.g., Europeans encountering Africans during the Colonial

Period (Europeans - religion monotheistic, technological progress, rational thought, literacy, versus Africans - religion polytheistic, less technological progress, use of magic, oral tradition).

B. Gordon Allport's conceptualization of prejudice (1958)

Prejudice has multiple causes and the sources of prejudice differ from situation to situation in the world and during various periods of history. Thus, White prejudice against Blacks in the U.S. has different sources than Black prejudice against Whites, Hindu-Moslem prejudices in India stem from different issues than male-female prejudices in North America.

Gordon Allport has conceptualized the various causes of prejudice in the paradigm illustrated in Figure 1.

As the diagram illustrates, Allport conceives of the causes of prejudice as falling along a continuum, from macroscopic historical causes to microscopic causes that involve personal experience or phenomenology. The types of causes he has identified may interact in different ways to produce various forms of prejudice. A selected discussion of these causes follows:

Historical: Draw on Marxist theory maintaining that life is a struggle between the haves and have nots. The haves blame people at the bottom of the social hierarchy for being at the bottom, and they can then emerge successfully from class conflict without feelings of guilt.

Examples: Mayflower descendents' prejudices against 20th century Italian and Irish immigrants, men's attitudes towards women.

Note that there is a tendency on the part of people to feel and believe that we live in a just, predictable world. When others suffer

misfortune there is a tendency to say, "they deserved it" (Just World Theory, Lerner, 1965).

Sociocultural Situational: Prejudice is sometimes rooted in historical causes; at other times the causes are more immediate, rooted in the sociocultural and situational zeitgeist. Thus, for example, the following conditions may lead to the expression of prejudice:

Downward social mobility increases hostility and scapegoating of innocent victims, inter-group economic competition especially during depressed economic times (though prejudice does not necessarily disappear during periods of prosperity); the uncertainty and insecurity of urban life (e.g., the Jews were hated at one time in North America because they became a symbol of city life - too successful at playing the urban game); and urban Blacks are blamed as the cause of "crime on the streets," the socialization of children who acquire the prejudices of their parents, their peers, the mass media and societal institutions. Authoritarian home settings rather than democratic home climates, ambiguous situations, the presence of models of intolerance (e.g., Ku Klux Klan), teach children to be prejudiced.

Personality: Prerequisites for the generation of prejudiced personalities include: the tendency to project one's own hostility onto others, reacting to life frustrations with aggressive behaviours, especially against people who cannot retaliate, authoritarian-oriented experiences that promote rigidity, intolerance of ambiguity, and punitive attitudes.

Example of aggressive behavior against a people who could not retaliate: The placement of loyal Japanese citizens in concentration camps

to protect the "internal security" of the U.S. and Canada during the wartime hysteria of World War II.

Phenomenological: Locates the cause of prejudice in the immediate present - in the ways in which each of us perceives the world. Our perceptions, in other words, create our prejudices. Thus, when people define themselves as fundamentally alike or different, they act in accordance with this definition ragardless of the truth. Both similarities and differences are exaggerated (assimilation-contrast theory).

Example: If White policemen are convinced that Black Panthers are out to get them, conciliatory behaviour by the Black Panthers even if genuine, will have no effect on relationships and police behaviours toward the Black Panthers.

What if people are different on one dimension such as race, but similar on another dimension such as belief? Much controversy on this topic exists in the literature (Rokeach, 1961 versus Triandis, 1961). Resolution of the controversy lies in the degree of intimacy or personal contact involved in the inter-ethnic encounter. Where a high degree of intimacy in the social situation exists, people react on the basis of race, rather than belief.

On the other hand, in situations where racial differences seem insignificant as compared to philosophical or political agreements, people choose to affiliate on the basis of belief rather than racial similarity.

The object of prejudice: Traits, behaviours, characteristics of the minority group, may earn them a reputation which elicits dislike and hostility (earned reputation theory). Sometimes there is an element of

truth in the reputation earned. There exists suggestive data that a "kernel of truth" exists in most stereotypes when the latter are elicited from people who have firsthand knowledge of the group being stereotyped (Triandis & Vassiliou, 1967).

Example: During my recent visit to South Africa I was struck by the untidiness of Indian shops in Durban. The manner of display of clothes, etc., has not changed in years, windows are crowded with a whole range of wares, food is openly displayed, streets are not as well cared for as they should be. These characteristics sometimes result in Indians being stereotyped as "dirty." Perhaps some element of truth exists if we judge the Indian shopping area by western standards (no value judgement intended - one may argue that western standards are not necessarily the most ideal or desirable).

Psychologists, therefore, acknowledge the multiple causation of prejudice. In attempting to change prejudiced attitudes, the roots of the attitude have to be sought, and appropriate ways of change introduced. If, for example, prejudiced attitudes have been learned from the environment, re-education is called for; if, however, these attitudes derive from personal frustration or hostility, then deeper therapeutic techniques are needed.

C. Criteria used in categorizing people

We often think that skin colour - a "high visibility" factor, must be the basis for inter-ethnic conflict and hostiity. Otto Klineberg, pioneer scholar of race relations, questions this stance in an article entitled: Black & White in International Perspective (1971). Young children, he points out, do not classify people by skin colour until they

are taught to do so by their elders. He looks at the contemporary world scene, and lists the complexity of factors, real or imaginary, that give rise to inter-group conflict. Skin colour may play no part in generating these conflicts that span the globe.

Examples: (i) The distinction drawn by the Nazis between Aryans and Non-Aryans.

(ii) Religious differences between Catholic and Protestant in Northern Ireland.

(iii) Linguistic divisions in Belgium between the Flemish and French-speaking populations, between French and English speaking Canadians, or between Tamils and Hindi speaking in India.

(iv) Cultural differences between Jews of European origin and Jews of Northern African/Middle East origin in Israel; the rejection by the larger Japanese society of the untouchables of Japan (the Eta/Burakumin) who are of Japanese origin; and the slow entry of the scheduled classes of India into the fuller society in spite of progressive legislation.

(v) In Latin America colour and social class combine to create inter-group conflict. Thus, people in the lowest economic classes tend to be Black; but a wealthy Black an is regarded as White.

In South Africa, where skin colour of any gradation was once a primary determinant of social status, just the tiniest cracks are appearing in a laager of racism - though not necessarily to advantage. Thus, whereas Indians were rigidly classified as "Non-White" 30 years ago, today they may be classified in different settings as "Non-White," "Blacks," "Indians," or "honourary Europeans!" An absurd and bewildering state of

affairs!

Klineberg talks of working toward a "colour blind" society (a society of equal opportunity in which rewards are available to all on the basis of individual worth). A noble goal, though I question the "colour blind" concept. Skin colour is a part of physical identity and should be treated as such. Respect for differences, including physical differences, should be our goal. Rewards should be assigned on the basis of individual worth but with full recognition of the individual physical differences between people.

D. Distribution of prejudiced attitudes in the population

While common sense may lead us to expect consistency between what people believe about minority groups (attitudes) and what they do in relation to the latter (overt behaviours), the empirical literature reveals repeated apparent inconsistencies between these two dimensions.

Thus, in the Minard study (1952) of the attitudes and behaviours of White miners towards Negro wo-workers in the Pocahontas coalfields of West Virginia, it was found that whereas only 20 percent of the White miners were friendly to the Negroes in town, 80 percent were friendly in the mines. Donald Campbell (1963) has introduced the concepts of "hurdles" and "thresholds" in order to understand people's behaviours toward minority groups. These concepts enable us to understand not only the behaviours of people at the extremes of the attitudinal continuum, but also people in the middle range.

People with extreme attitudes, whether extremely liberal or prejudiced, behave in a consistently extreme manner; people with middle level attitudes behave in a consistently mediocre manner. With reference to

the Minard study, town and mine have different "thresholds," i.e., the two settings call for different levels of experience of social distance relationships. Town, a high threshold, places a geat deal of pressure on the individual, and calls for extremely liberal responses - it is a "hurdle" few people clear. By contrast the hurdles inherent in low threshold situations, are acceptable to most people (some 60 percent), because they do not make many demands on private beliefs, they do not involve in-group pressures, etc. Note that in the Minard study, there was no instance of true inconsistency, i.e., being friendly towards Negroes in town, but hostile in the mines.

I am sure all of you can think of instances where people you have interacted with fall into this middle range in social distance relationships, i.e., clear low hurdles but fail high hurdles. May I interject an experience of my own.

Example: My brother had an extremely good friend at University in South Arica. This young White student spent a great deal of his spare time fraternizing with my brother in our home (low hurdle at that time) but when he got married he invited everyone in their student circle, even people he didn't care too much for, but did not invite my brother. I confronted him with this strange inconsistency and he said: "there wasn't enough place in the church to invite another person!" (The church setting with families present, etc., was a high hurdle; the threshold was too demanding.)

The figures for the distribution of attitudes and behaviours given in Figure II are based on studies in the United States. Frances Henry's study of racism in Toronto reveals a similar distribution - 16% of

Toronto's White population hold extreme racist views, 35% lie in a racist direction, 30% in a liberal direction, and 19% hold liberal views.

Efforts at changing attitudes in a more positive direction should obviously be aimed at people in the middling group.

E. Toward true integration as minority Non-White females

Pettigrew (1971) presents a model illustrating the hypothetical and actual paths taken by Blacks and Whites in the United States in order to achieve an ideal state, true integration. He implies by this term, an integration of Whites and Blacks, so that the end product represents a "transformation." Pettigrew notes that the word "integration" has come to have a negative connotation. However, he points out that the term does not necessarily mean the disappearance of a minority.

I though this model may have relevance for understanding the problems of South Asian women, who may experience two, sometimes three strikes with which they have to contend, i.e., ethnic background, sex membership, possibly socio-economic status.

Pettigrew suggests that Blacks in the United States may follow three paths to true integration. These are:

(i) From the typical ghetto situation (Cell D) through a "Black Power" ghetto (Cell B) to Cell A. Protagonists of Black Power assert that Blacks need a period of isolation to build up leadership, organization and personal power. When the latter qualities have been established then Blacks will be prepared to confront true integration.

(ii) From Cell D, the ghetto situation, through Cell C, a desegregated experience characteristic of many settings in the United States, to Cell A, true integration.

(iii) But, Pettigrew argues that socio-psychological theory would predict that the optimal mode of achieving true integration is by moving directly from Cell D, the ghetto setting, to Cell A, true integration, i.e., contact and communication between Blacks and Whites (the contact hypothesis) is more likely to promote good relationships that either of paths described under (i) and (ii) above. Both the latter involve increased isolation, hardly conducive to the improvement of inter-group relationships.

Pettigrew's model is suggestive for the development of a true creative multiculturalism in this great country. Thus, South Asian women who find themselves in a relatively isolated situation in the host country as described in Figure III for American Blacks, may follow three paths to true integration. Here, as in Pettigrew's model, "true integration" implies a "transformed" society in which all the component peoples are participating. Globalism[3] as an ideal for Canadian society assumes that at least the majority of all Canadians are interested and willing to work toward a transformed new society.

The potential paths to the new society (true integration) are obvious:

(i) South Asian women may move from a situation of relative isolation (Cell D) through Cell B and ultimately to Cell A. The objective of

---

[3]"Globalism" as the most meaningful model for a multicultural Canada was introduced by Dr. Stuart Smith, Leader, Liberal Party of Ontario, in his address at the National Conference of the National Association of Indians of origins in India, Toronto, September 30, 1978.

Cell B (further isolation) is the increment of self-esteem, confidence, strength, power, leadership in the women.

(ii) The women may move from Cell D (relative isolation) through Cell C representing desegregation; eventually they may move to Cell A, true integration. I believe many South Asian women experience the constrained contact represented by Cell C, i.e., desegregation, but they do not feel psychologically integrated. The strained social relationships they experience may be partially self-imposed - South Asian women are often reserved, introverted, and shy. They may lack adequate communication skills or they may sense the indifference to their presence sometimes exhibited by majority group members, consequently they withdraw.

(iii) Finally, the model postulated direct movement from Cell D (relative isolation) to Cell A (true integration). Basing its tenets on socio-psychological theory the model postulates that direct confrontation with the larger society - direct contact - should lead to increased acceptance, and increased interpersonal attraction. Shared values and beliefs will be evinced and mutually perceived. However, socio-psychological theory also points out that if prejudice is to be lessened the interacting groups must:

(a) possess equal status in the interacting setting;

(b) seek common goals;

(c) be co-operatively dependent upon each other;

(d) interact with the positive support of authorities, laws, customs.

Thus, socio-psychological theory indicates that contact per se is not necessarily a sufficient basis for promoting positive perceptions and

relationships. There is some evidence of this with reference to the South Asian woman's presence in Canada (Naidoo, 1978).

The fact that true creative integration is conditional on many factors calls for attention to the development of appropriate interaction skills among people in a multicultural society. Further, creating a transformed society calls for awareness and support of the legal and social institutions of the society. Even where these ideal conditions of interaction do exist, socio-psychological theory reveals that a more facilitative integration can be expected in the formal areas of inter-group relationships; less (or more restrictive integration) in the more intimate areas of such relationships.

Socio-psychological theory seemingly predicts that the truly creative multicultural society envisioned for Canada and the world of the future will materialize slowly. Shared experience, skilled contacts, societal supports, cultivated inter-group relationships will, however, move the human race toward multicultural literacy,[4] toward respect for diversity, globalism, and the wonder of man.

---

[4]A term used by the Hon. Ruben Baetz, Minister for Culture and Recreation in his address to the National Conference of the National Association of Indians of origins in India, Toronto, September 29, 1978.

References

Allport, G. The nature of prejudice. New York: Doubleday, 1958.

Campbell, D.T. Social attitudes and other acquired behavioural dispositions. In S. Koch (Ed.): Psychology: A study of a science. Vol. 6. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1963.

Henry, F. The dynamics of racism in Toronto: A research report. Toronto: York University, 1978.

Klineberg, O. Black and White in international perspective. American Psychologist, 1971, Vol. 26, #2, pp. 119-128.

Lerner, M.J. The effect of responsibility and choice on a partner's attractiveness following failure, Journal of Personality, 33 (1965), 178-187.

Minard, D. Race relationships in the Pocahontas coalfield. Journal of Social Issues, 1952, 8(1), 29-44.

Naidoo, J.C. Canadian perspectives on East Indian Immigrants. A paper presented at the Tenth Anniversary Conference of the Canadian Society for Asian Studies, University of Guelph, Ontario, May, 1978.

Pettigrew, T.F. Racially separate or together? In Wrightsman, L.S. & Brigham, J.C. (Eds.), Contemporary Issues in Social Psychology (2nd Ed.), pp. 247-262. California: Brooks/Cole, 1973.

Rokeach, M. Belief versus race as determinants of social distance: Comment on Triandis' paper. Journal of Abnormal & Social Psychology, 62, 1961), 187-188.

Triandis, H.C. A note on Rokeach's theory of prejudice. Journal of Abnormal & Social Psychology, 62 (1961), 184-328.

Triandis, H.C. & Vassiliou, V. Frequency of contact and stereotyping. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1967, 7, 316-328.

Wrightsman, L.S. Social Psychology. (2nd Ed.) California: Wadsworth, 1977.

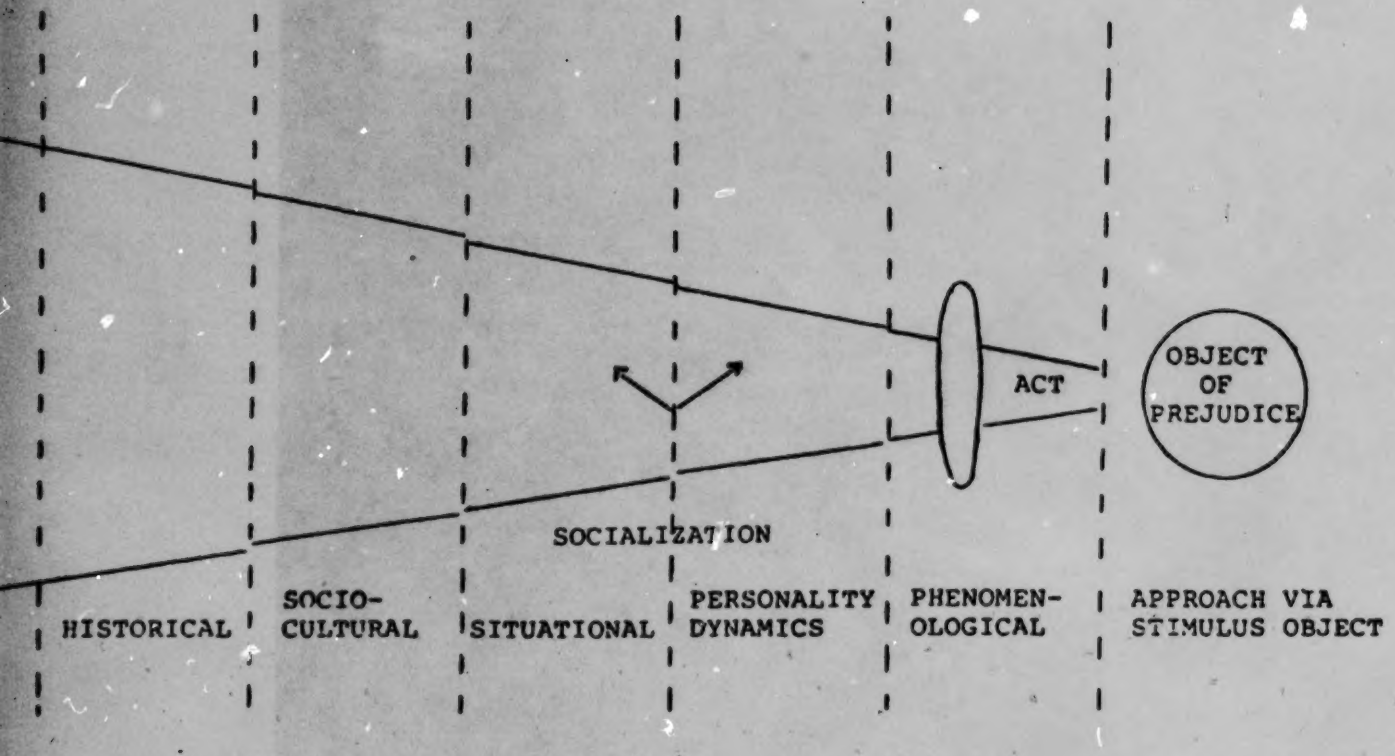


FIG. I THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF THE CAUSES OF PREJUDICE (ALLPORT, 1958)

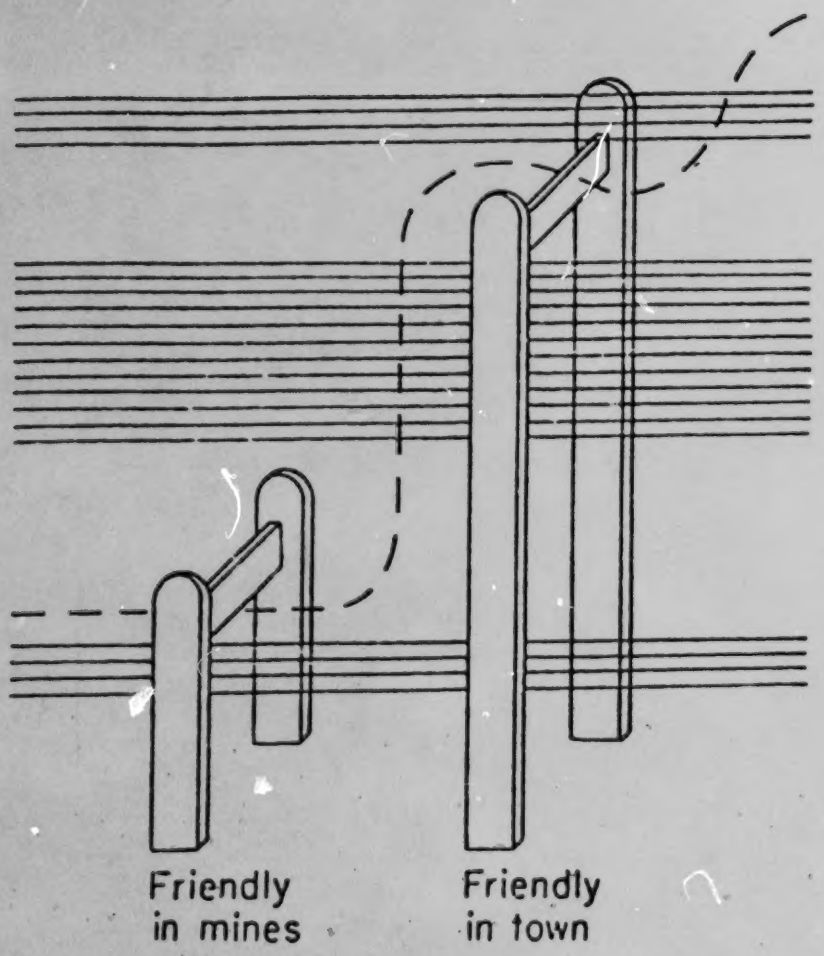


FIG. II Minard's data on miner's attitudes toward Negroes illustrating the concepts of "thresholds" and "hurdles" (Campbell, 1963)

201

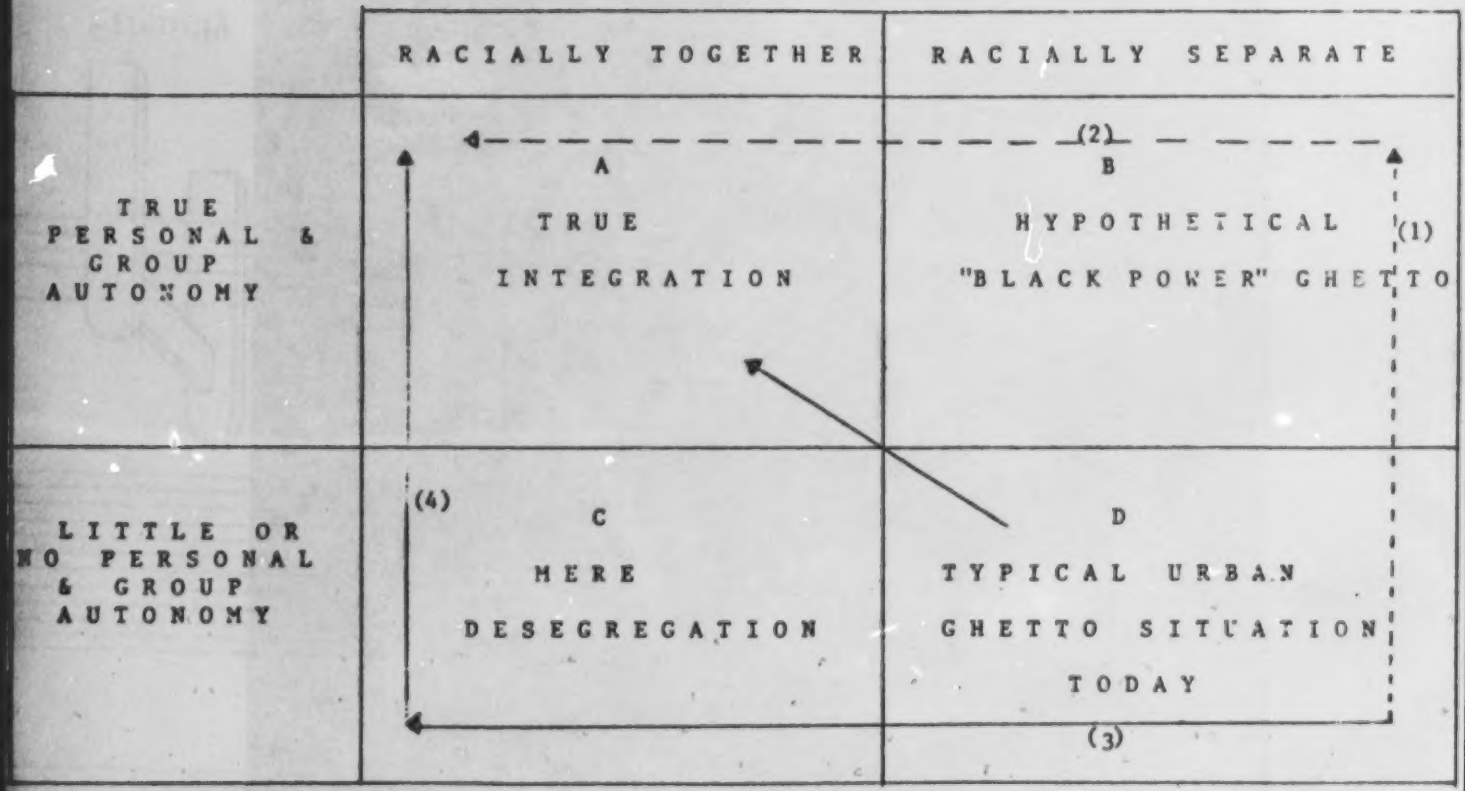


FIG. 111 SCHEMATIC DIAGRAM OF AUTONOMY AND CONTACT-SEPARATION (PETTIGREW, 1971)

THE SOCIAL IMAGE OF SOUTH ASIAN WOMEN IN THE CANADIAN MOSAIC*

A Poster Demonstration

J. C. Naidoo

Wilfrid Laurier University

The demonstration illustrated exploratory data based on the responses of a random sampling of white Canadians resident in two small cities in Ontario (N = 189, males and females, mainly students) to a questionnaire probing their perceptions of South Asian women in the Canadian context. Rankings of common traits elicited and trait descriptions were presented in three categories: positive/liked traits, negative/disliked traits, and traits which shifted from a positive to a negative direction. Thus, for example, while people liked the South Asian woman's quietness and politeness, these perceptions shifted to her being perceived as aloof, unfriendly, and lacking in vitality. Her commitment to family was positively viewed but shifted to seeing her as subservient to men. There was some admiration for her retention of the home culture but this perception shifted to seeing her as unwilling to integrate; as rigid.

Further, respondents' statements were classifed along a favourable-unfavourable continuum. A fair proportion of the respondents had had no contact with South Asian women as indicated by statements such as: "can't judge", "don't know", "no comment". Contact with South Asian women did not necessarily result in respondents moving in a positive direction.

---

*Presented at a conference on "Integration of South Asians in Canadian Society", McGill University, Montreal, June 2, 1979.

Selected cultural, religious, and attitudinal beliefs about social behaviour drawn from a larger survey of women of South Asian and Anglo Saxon origins (N = 105 for each group) were also presented. The women were interviewed in their home settings, by trained women interviewers. The samples were drawn from the same twin cities in Ontario and were matched by residential area. Origins and religious affiliation of the diverse South Asian sample were given. The groups were comparable on several salient demographic dimensions (age, length of marriage, number of children, family salary, etc.); South Asian respondents were better educated at the post graduate level. Subsequent analyses of achievement data were controlled for this finding (Naidoo, 1978).

The several analyses performed revealed a dualistic nature to the responses of South Asian women. On the one hand, the South Asian woman exhibits the strong religious-philosophical values and concern for home-family generally attributed to her; on the other hand, she exhibits a clear orientation toward education and achievement for herself and her family. Education and opportunity for all are the characteristics she admires and wants most of Canada.

The dynamics of in-outgroup relationships with reference to the South Asian minority group and the larger Canadian society were discussed within the context of Allport's paradigm of the causes of prejudice (1958) (Fig. 1). An attempt was made to understand the social perception data reported from the perspective of the several dimensions contributing to prejudice. Further, the implications of the data for a pluralistic society are examined with reference to two models of ethnic integration discussed in the literature: the Anglo Conformity Model and the Cultural Pluralism Model

(Hughes and Kallen, 1974) (Fig. 11). The data presented suggested that people in the majority group expect the ethnic minority to renounce at least the visible and distinctive aspects of its ancestral culture and life style, i.e., majority group people seem to be responding in terms of the Anglo Conformity Model of ethnic integration. By contrast, the Cultural Pluralism Model promoted by the Canadian government encourages the retention and development of the ancestral culture and identity. This study found a general lack of sensitivity to official policy regarding multiculturalism, thus endorsing a similar finding emerging from the study of Berry et al. (1976). It would seem, therefore, that while Canadians are tolerant of ethnic diversity at an abstract ideological level, as reported by the Berry team (1976), they react differently at the concrete experiential level. South Asian languages, food, dress, mannerisms, values, were at times sources of extreme irritation.

For South Asian Canadians the discrepancies perceived between national policy, i.e., the expectations of retaining cultural identity with dignity, and the resistance-negativism-hostility encountered in interpersonal relationships creates a dilemma for which they are unprepared.

The demonstration closed with a presentation of the potential usefulness of Campbell's (1963) conceptualization of "Hurdles" and "Thresholds" (Fig. 111) for understanding the dynamics of social distance relationships for people in the middle range of polarized liberal and prejudiced individuals, in particular with regard to changing attitudes in a more positive direction.

Implications of the data for interpersonal relationships in an interdependent world society were presented as follows: (1) The need for wes-

tern peoples to re-assess their value systems within the context of other, no less rich and profound, value systems, deeply entrenched largely in the non-western parts of the globe. A lagging colonial spirit continues to contribute to the general failure of western peoples to view themselves in fresh perspective given the vast changes that have occurred in the non-western sectors of the world. (2) While peoples of non-western origins have made impressive adaptations to western culture, the reverse cannot be said of people of western origins. Except for a minority, western peoples remain relatively uninformed about the non-western cultures, philosophies, languages and religions adhered to by millions around the globe. There is a need for a more truly reciprocal relationship and interchange between western and non-western peoples. (3) Newcomers to western countries should be alert to instances in the world (such as the Republic of South Africa) where South Asian peoples have successfully integrated western culture and traditional culture without necessarily winning for themselves political, social and economic equality. A "can't win" experience occurs all too frequently as non-western peoples relate to western peoples. (4) There exists in the world a dual conceptualization of human relationships. One concept focuses on altruism, non-aggression, peace; the other on power, aggression, violence. While tribute is paid to the "peace" concept, unfortunately, all too often it is the "power" concept which generates more success in the world. It may be speculated that people originating in countries perceived as not powerful are likely to find themselves relegated to the bottom of the totem pole in their new host settings. Changes from this status tend to be correlated with enhancement in the power image of the original home country (contemporary examples: Israel, Japan, China and

the status of their respective peoples). One suggestion whereby South Asians in affluent nations such as Canada can participate in promoting the image of their country of origin is to address themselves to the question of furthering the cause of social justice beyond their adopted country, i.e., to India itself. Mathew Zachariah (1978) says: The attempts of Indian (South Asian) immigrants to promote social justice in Canada - for example, to ensure equality of opportunity, end racial discrimination, etc. - will gain greater moral strength if we can demonstrate that our concern is broad enough to encompass the world community within which our country of origin receives special attention...we must play a part in helping to alleviate the problems in our country of origin. Another suggestion relates to bringing to fuller realization South Asian talents, intelligence, imagination - potential deriving from their original background and cultures - in the service of the host country. In the context of the world, Canada may be singled out as one of the more "open" western countries. South Asians must be encouraged to "move out" into all levels of Canadian society - political, executive, administrative, cultural, artistic - to contribute their particular inspiration to the creative genius of this great country.

References

Allport, G.W. The Nature of Prejudice. New York: Double Day Anchor, 1958.

Berry, J., Kalin, R. & Taylor, D. Multiculturalism and Ethnic Attitudes in Canada. Ottawa: Ministry of Supply & Services Canada, 1977.

Campbell, D.T. Social attitudes and other acquired behavioural dispositions. In S. Koch (Ed.) Psychology: A Study of a Science. Vol. 6. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1963.

Hughes, D.R. & Kallen, E. The Anatomy of Racism: Canadian Dimensions. Montreal: Harvest House, 1974.

Naidoo, J.C. South Asian Women in Canada. A paper presented at the Canadian Psychological Annual Meeting: Institute on Women, June, 1978.

Zachariah, M. The Role of Indians in Canada: A Missing Dimension. A paper presented at the Conference of the National Association of Canadians of Indian Origins, September 30, 1978.

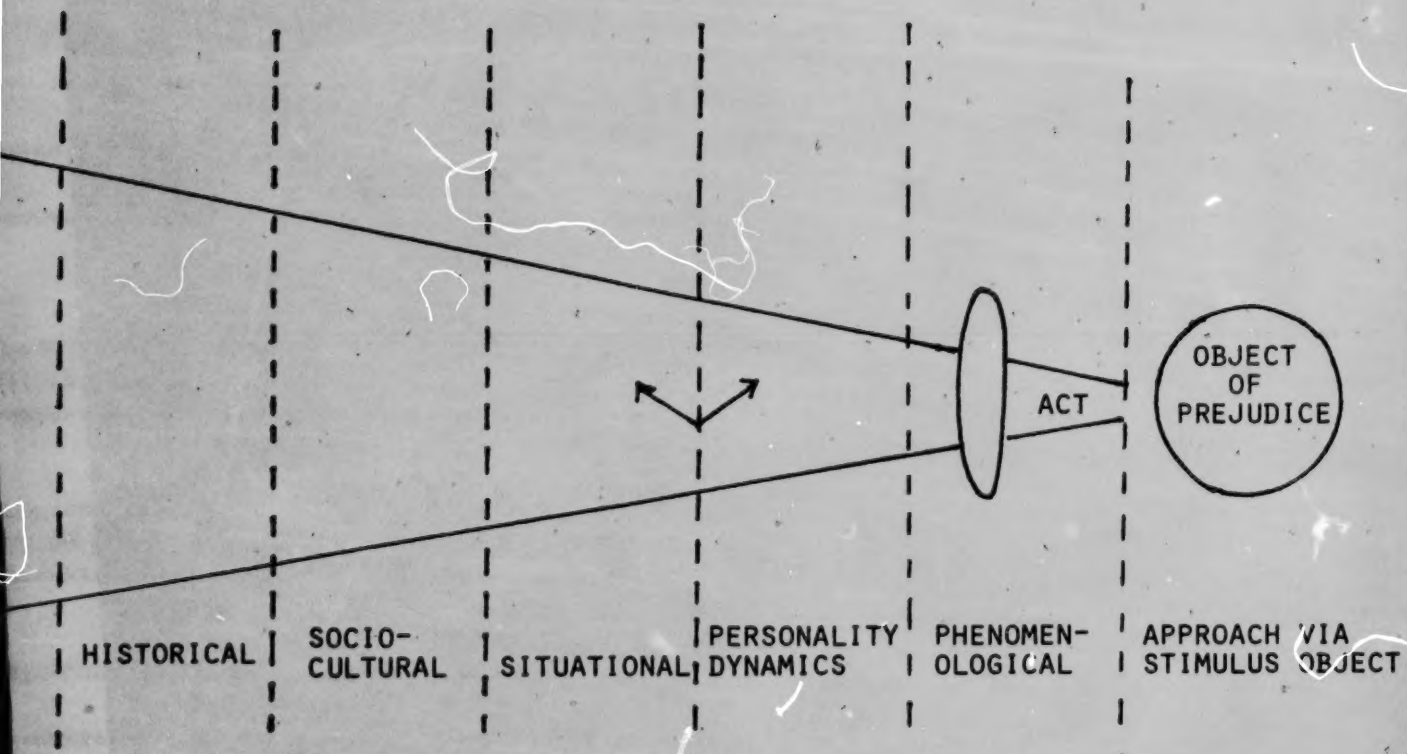


FIG.I THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF THE CAUSES OF PREJUDICE (ALLPORT, 1958)

FIG 11: MODELS OF ETHNIC INTEGRATION (HUGHES & KALLEN, 1974)

"Ideal Type" Models	Conditions	Acculturation Process
1. Anglo-Conformity	Renounce Ancestral Culture Adopt Values, Life Styles of Majority	One Way Process Subordination/Extinction of Identity
2. Melting Pot (American Ideal)	Extensive Social Interaction. Blending of Cultures to Create New Society	Two Way Process New Identity
3. Cultural Pluralism* (Canadian Ideal)	Unspecified Degree of Integration by Minorities for Effective Participation in Institutions in Larger Society	Symbiotic Co-existence Peripheral Contact Retain Identity

*(Multi-Culturalism or Mosaic)

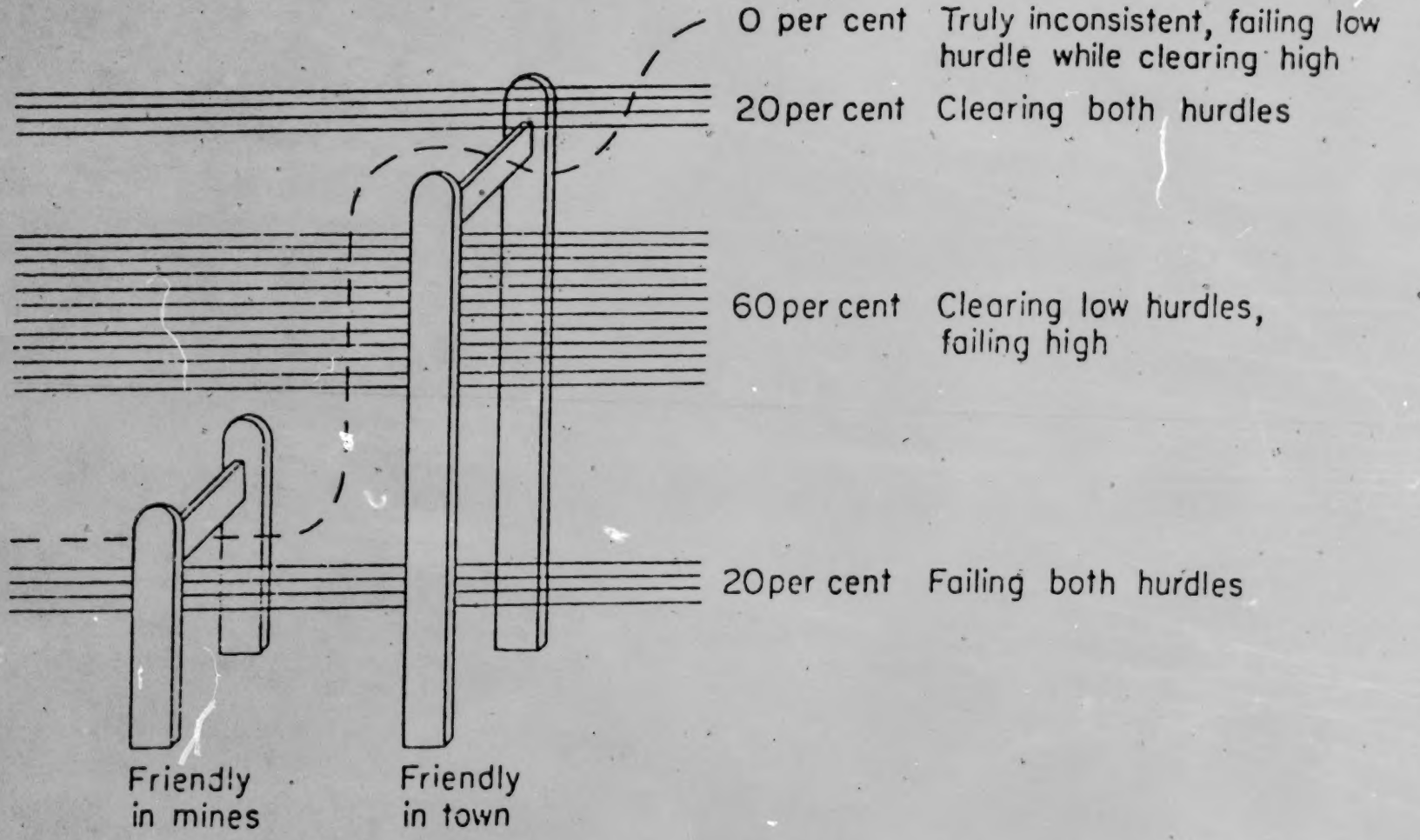


FIG. III Minard's data on miner's attitudes toward Negroes illustrating the concepts of "thresholds" and "hurdles" (Campbell, 1963)

WOMEN OF SOUTH ASIAN ORIGINS: STATUS OF RESEARCH, PROBLEMS, ISSUES, NEW PERSPECTIVES

Josephine C. Naidoo
Department of Psychology
Wilfrid Laurier University
Waterloo, Ontario

A paper presented at the 37th annual convention of the International Council of Psychologists, Henry Chauncey Conference Centre, Educational Testing Service, Princeton, New Jersey, U.S.A., August 29-30, 1979. Symposium A (August 30, 2.30-4.30 p.m.): Theoretical and Methodological Issues in Cross-Cultural Research on Women: A Panel Discussion and Participant Workshop.

Abstract

This review of literature on women of South Asian origins illustrates the importance of understanding modern South Asian women immigrants in Canada within the perspective of their historical background. Values relating to concepts of male-femaleness, sexuality, marriage, family, spiritual life, knowledge and learning that have evolved in Hindu thought and philosophy remain potent influences in the lives of the women studied.

The paper briefly reports on exploratory research of the role perceptions and achievement aspirations of matched samples of middle class South Asian and Anglo Saxon women resident in Southern Ontario. It identifies several methodological problems emerging from the research on the South Asian minority, such as the private nature of the culture, ethical concerns, "good" interviewer and volunteer characteristics. It also discusses findings of the study relating to socialization, cultural norms and achievement aspirations, the search for identity, and mental health within the context of relevant models and theoretical assumptions about human behaviour based largely on studies conducted in Western cultures.

The paper stresses the need for further empirical research of the questions and issues raised.

Women of South Asian[1] Origins
Status of Research, Problems, Issues, New Perspectives[2]

Status of Research: Literature Review

An extensive search into the literature on women of South Asian origins reveals a dearth of empirical studies on the subject. Given that the population of South Asian women runs into the hundreds of millions, this state of affairs reflects poorly on the interests and concerns of social scientists both in South Asian countries and in the larger world community. The present review represents a sound coverage of the relevant literature accessible in North America.

Studies emanating from the Indian subcontinent fall into several categories as follows: (i) Historical considerations (Meyer, 1953; Walker, 1968; Bullough, 1973); (ii) Family-marriage-caste studies (Anant 1973; Ross, 1967; Gupta, 1976); (iii) Cross-cultural studies conducted by American investigators (Barry III, 1957; Chodorow, 1971; Leavitt, 1971; Green, 1971; Smock, 1977); (iv) Articles focussing on women and girls in South Asia (Beny & Menen, 1969; Jacobson, 1976-77; Smock, 1977; Kitchener-Waterloo Record, 1977); (v) Government documents (Towards Equality: A report, 1975).

There are some indications that the level of subordination of women of India was not as severe in very early Indian history as later (Walker, 1968; Bullough, 1973). Indeed, legends of women rulers and divinities still exist. With the appearance of the Aryans in the second millennium B.C. as documented in Vedic writings, women continued to hold important places in religious rituals, scholarship, writings of hymns

and poems, but gradually they lost ground and emerged as subordinate to males. By the time the first Hindu laws of Manu were written about 100 A.D., women were put under the control of men, divine sanction was given to the institution of caste, and the concept of dharma[3] emerged. Hindu law was based on the sacred scriptures believed to be divinely inspired and unalterable (Bullough, 1973). Further, the laws viewed woman's nature as wicked and deceptive; being a girl was a penalty for some sin committed in a previous incarnation. A basic Hindu premise arose: "the husband stands to the wife in place of the Deity" (Thompson, 1928). These beliefs played a powerful role in the development of later practices such as child marriage, female infanticide, the forbidding of widow re-marriage, and the custom of suttee.[4] There was only one salvation for women, viz., to accept their status and obey their masters for this would bring honour. In turn, where women who played their role correctly were not honoured, all other religious deeds were considered barren (Walker, 1968).

Hindu attitudes toward sex differed from those that developed in the West (Meyer, 1953; Walker, 1968). Hinduism never regarded marriage as a lesser state to virginity; there was no notion that sex was impure. Except for widows, celibacy for women was discouraged and women were depicted as more sensual than men. Since heaven was not open to the sacramentally unconsecrated, i.e., the unwedded maiden, marriage evolved as an extremely important institution. Further, love for women could only blossom within the bonds of marriage. Woman as loving wife and mother came to be extolled (Meyer, 1953; Walker, 1968).

Considerable attention has been given to Hindu marriage, motherhood and family in the literature (Mace & Mace, 1960; Ross, 1967; Gupta, 1976). Thus, Gupta discusses the traditional arranged marriage within the context of Hindu social structure involving the extended family, loyalty to family and tight in-group, submergence of individual fulfillment and personal achievement, dependence on family and acceptance of its wishes in crucial life decisions including marriage. Gupta argues that the arranged marriage ("conjugal love") ensures continuity and unity of the extended family, it provides a base for shared responsibilities and problems, it gives succor to the aged and the ill. He estimates that "love (romantic) marriages" occur with less than 1% of the Indian population. Ross discusses changes occurring in the urban Hindu family as a result of industrialization, higher education for girls, changes in joint family patterns and marriage trends. Overall, younger people show more liberal attitudes towards all institutions of marriage and family. However, Ross points out that these liberal tendencies are more attitudinal than actual and real, e.g., attitudes towards inter-caste/religious/ethnic marriage are more liberal than in actual practice; desire for romantic love as a basis for marriage is more a dream than an actual demand at the time of marriage. The emergence of the "career woman", the young bride's desire to live apart from in-laws, and new relationships between men and women are noted in the book.

The several cross-cultural studies conducted by American social scientists (e.g., Barry III, 1957; Chodorow, 1971; Green, 1971; Leavitt,

1971), cover a wide range of variables and countries. Levitt points out that whereas in India itself, the status of women degenerated under Hinduism, it flourished under the same religion in many parts of the Indonesian archipelago. Women, in general, had a higher status, more freedom and equality in these countries than in the patriarchal civilizations of traditional India, China and Japan. Chodorow surveys the socialization of males and females in several cultural groups including the Rajputs of India. She traces a common trend in the socialization and development of male identity in both Western and Non-Western cultures which has led to and has perpetuated the devaluation and oppression of women.

Studies that focus directly on women in South Asian countries present a discouraging, even dismal picture (Beny & Menen, 1969; Jacobson, 1976-77; Smock, 1977). For example, Jacobson in a lengthy, well-documented article quotes statistics of systematic discrimination against the vast majority of India's women in almost every aspect of life, e.g., in relation to immediate menfolk, families, employment, health care, education and schooling, farming, household industries. The list of injustices, discrimination, and hardship endured by India's women described in this article is too long for discussion at this point. The following statements documented by Jacobson reflect on the author's view of the status of women in that country: the small educated elite, comprising perhaps a million out of a total female population of more than 300 million, are mainly women of high status background (p. 152); the prominence of women in Indian politics is due

more to the eminence of a few women than to the participation of any substantial proportion of women (p. 236); most professional government-employed social workers have evinced little interest in bringing about social change through social action and consider employment in social work only as a job that provides certain benefits to themselves (p.234).

An impressive report was presented to the Government of India in 1975 by a specially appointed committee on the status of women in India. The report entitled: Toward Equality, coincided with the celebration of International Women's Year. As the report concluded, its findings were no cause for celebration. Its summary statement read as follows: The large masses of women in this country have remained unaffected by the rights guaranteed to them by the Constitution and the laws enacted since Independence.

South Asians immigrating to Canada fall into one of four categories: (i) The pioneer Sikhs who entered British Columbia in the early years of this century; (ii) Well-educated people who came to Canada between 1947 and 1970 in response to Canadian needs for professionals to fill vacancies in Canadian institutions of higher learning; (iii) The Ugandan Asian refugees admitted to Canada on humanitarian grounds in the early 70's; and (iv) The late 70's period during which people of South Asian origins from the Asian sub-continent and other parts of the world have been accepted into the country. This last period marks a shift from "white collar" to "blue collar" skills as Canada's need picture has changed (Hardwick, 1974; Buchignani, 1977).

The entry into Canada of South Asians, distinguished by markedly different racial, cultural, religious, and value characteristics, has not been smooth. Thus, for example, Ferguson (1975) details the Komagatu Maru incident of 1914. On that occasion, the Japanese vessel, "Komagatu Maru", chartered by the enterprising Punjabi Gurdit Singh to bring some 376 prospective Punjabi immigrants to British Columbia, was refused entry into the country by court order. Amid violence and hostility from local residents and rioting by passengers, immigration officers, the police, and the navy aboard the Canadian cruiser "Rainbow", escorted the "Komagatu Maru" out of Vancouver harbour.

White fears of a South Asian "invasion" (Hardwick, 1974, p. 21) continue to the present day, although to a lesser degree, and more so in some sectors of Canadian society than in others. Thus, the Ubale Report entitled: Equal Opportunity and Public Policy (1977), described numerous incidents of racial violence against South Asians in Metropolitan Toronto; the Pitman Report, entitled: Now is not too late (1977), portrays the nature of the victim and assailant in such incidents; the Henry Research Report, entitled: The dynamics of racism in Toronto (1978), estimates that some 50% of White Torontonians have a racist orientation toward Non-White residents in the city. The document "Life Together" (1977) reports on human rights in the province of Ontario. It called for a revision of the Ontario Human Rights Code of 1962. Other legislation, protective of minority group human rights, such as the Fair Employment Practices Act of 1953, has been systematically enforced in recent years. All four documents offer numerous recommendations for

alleviating racial tension, hostility and fear between White Canadians and newcomers from Non-Western countries. Scant attention is given to the particular experiences and problems of South Asian women in these lengthy documents. Indeed, almost any type of data on them is lacking.

Liberalization of immigration regulations, commenced in the 60's, moved to more restrictive policies by the mid-70's (the "Green Paper" on immigration, 1975). Some people view these developments as panic responses to pressures from racists; others view them as a reflection of rightful concern about the long-term effects of immigration on Canadian society.

Several socio-psychological studies of educated women in India or of Indian women studying in North America have been conducted. The best known of these are studies by Cormack (1953; 1961), Metha (1970), and Kapur (1969; 1972). Others include writings by Du Brin (1972) and Naidoo & Fiedler (1962). More theoretical and philosophical publications on South Asian women have been written by Taylor (1948), Wadley (1977) and Srinivas (1977).

Cormack's book, The Hindu Woman (1953), reports on how Indian girls internalize the traditional feminine role. Her later study, She who rides a peacock (1961), studies the conscious awareness and attitudes of Indian students to social change in the process of "traditional" India becoming "modern". Women students in this study expressed the aspiration of self-realization through the development of the individual potential. Metha examines the impact of Western contact on the values of elite Hindu women; Kapur points out the need for educating both sexes

towards the development of positive attitudes for combining work with marriage and the provision of professional help where conflict between marriage and work arise.

In contrast to Jacobson's dismal portrayal of women in India, a paper by Srinivas published in the same year (1977) presents a more positive image of female political participation, education, careers, and upward mobility. Wadley's analysis of female nature in Hindu mythology and religious texts suggests a duality comprised of active and passive components. Inherent in the Hindu conceptualization of the active female element is the potential for achievement, activity, involvement, social action and contribution to the larger society. Indeed, Cormack's foreword to her bock, The Hindu Woman (1953, p.V) states the following:

> Many of us have long carried around in our heads a confused picture - dingy and colourful at the same time - of the women of India. This picture is a montage of scraps from various sources - the "mother India" notion of the "downtrodden" women of India ... and the exotic sensuous women of the Orient ...
> When I reached India in the fall of 1950 I was astonished to find something different from this montage: women of dignity, charm, simple beauty in all classes - farm women in the villages, middle class women in the cities, government women in New Delhi - women who were neither helpless and downtrodden nor absorbed in erotic gratification of pampered husbands ...

Articles on South Asian women who have emigrated from India to many parts of the world are few and far between, meagre in content, and lacking in empirical data. These studies (David, 1964; Uberoi, 1964; Jeffery, 1976) tend to focus on processes of acculturation in South Asian communities as they adapt to environments outside the Indian sub-

continent. The best known writings on South Asians in the Republic of South Africa are those of sociologists Kuper (1960), Van den Berghe (1962) and Meer (1969). A study of auto and hetero stereotypes of Indian students in South Africa conducted by Morsbach (1972) concludes that in spite of the general wariness shown toward "the Indians" by the other South African groups tested (viz., Africans, Coloureds, Afrikaaners, White English-speaking Gentiles, and Jews), the Indian subjects did not seem to have developed a self-hatred, as is evidence by their high self-evaluation. Quite to the contrary, they show a very positive auto stereotype, not matched by any stereotype the other groups have of them. Further, although the Indians evaluated "Western Civilization" very positively, they seem rooted quite firmly in their own Indian culture in many ways, which allows them to have a high regard of themselves (p. 166).

Empirical studies on women of non-western origin living on the North American continent are virtually non-existent except as parts of larger surveys of ethnic minorities. A few exploratory studies conducted in Canada (Siddique, 1977; Naidoo, 1980; Naidoo, in press) have appeared recently. The Siddique study reports the persistence of traditional patterns among Indian and Pakistani women in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan. This finding was viewed in the context of the women's lack of experience in living abroad and their low integration in their new cultural settings. The Naidoo studies suggest the following trends in the South Asian women's self-perceptions and attitudes toward life: (i) A duality in the nature of the women's life orientation: traditional and

contemporary. The former attitudes related to family, religion, and marriage; the latter to education, achievement and success; (ii) A differential approach in their selection of aspects of Canadian culture for emulation; and (iii) The traditional dimension to their self concept seemingly plays an important role in determining adjustment and acculturation within the host country.

Description: An Exploratory Study of South Asian and Anglo Saxon Women in Southern Ontario

Two hundred and ten volunteer respondents of South Asian and Anglo-Saxon origins were interviewed by trained senior Canadian women students in two detailed sessions conducted in the women's home settings. An in-depth interview schedule probing self-perceptions, achievement motivation, selected religious and cultural variables, and aspects of acculturation to Canadian settings, was utilized. The study was viewed as exploratory; its basic objectives were: (i) To identify and refine variables yielding insightful knowledge, in particular, about the South Asian culture; (ii) To determine on an empirical basis what items and measures may be used with a reasonable degree of validity and reliability across cultures, given that most well known tests have been standardized on North American (usually sophomore) populations; (iii) To examine problems of entry into the South Asian group unaccustomed to the method of empirical enquiry. Credibility and rapport with people in a more private and introverted culture than North American culture had to be created. The receptivity of the respondents to in-group South Asian

interviewers versus Anglo-Saxon Canadian interviewers was examined; (iv) To find out about the respondents' fluency in the English language and whether the interview schedule would require translation (about 5% of the final sample required careful interviewing by interviewers fluent in the home language).

Population estimates for the South Asian group were based on listings provided courtesy of local cultural and religious organizations and well-informed individuals within the communities of interest.[5] A volunteer sample of 10% from each of these communities was set as a target sample. This sample comprised women from India, Pakistan, Bangledesh, Sri Lanka, East Africa, Guyana and Trinidad. They were represented in proportion to the size of the local subpopulations from these countries.

The dominant home country and religious group represented in the sample was India (52.4%) and Hinduism (47.6%) respectively. Muslim women were underrepresented and Christian South Asian women overrepresented (25.7%), relative to the populations professing these religions in South Asia. The Anglo-Saxon sample was predominantly Protestant (70.5%). Extensive demographic data on the two groups were obtained (Naidoo, 1980). The modal frequencies on salient variables for the two groups were as follows: age 30-34 years, family income $15,000-$20,000 per annum, married 1-5 years, with 2 or 3 children. Women in both groups had attended high school and several had obtained the Bachelor's degree. The Anglo-Saxons were all Canadian citizens while

the South Asians were largely landed immigrants resident in the country for 1-3 years.

Problems in Researching the South Asian Sample

1. The Privacy Factor in the Interview Process.

A characteristic of people within South Asian cultures experienced in the study that warrants attention is the extreme privacy with which these people regard their attitudes, values, and relationships. Questions which in the North American culture investigators would not hesitate to ask and anticipate frank responses, seemingly are considered extremely private. Thus, for example, questions about family relationships, perceptions about the self, parental treatment of boys and girls, inter-ethnic marriage, the perception of Canadians in the larger society, etc., were more difficult to probe with South Asian respondents than with Anglo-Saxon respondents. Contrary to the general finding for the interview process with ethnic samples (Cannell & Kahn, 1968), South Asian participants did not necessarily respond better to their own in-group interviewers. Presumably, they preferred talking with "strangers" because this allayed their anxieties regarding possible "leaks"[6] in data they viewed as very private.

Enlisting the cooperation of the community entailed more than the usual steps researchers take in the initial soliciting stages of a project. Although most people responded with interest, even enthusiasm to the project, there were individuals, albeit a minority, who expressed fears that such research was "premature"[7], possibly "damaging"[8] to the

the community. In some instances it was extremely important to convince the husband of the importance and confidentiality of the wife's participation in the project.

Personal contact, allowing respondents to verbalize their fears, moving from an indirect to a more direct approach in eliciting responses, talking about individual anxieties regarding the effects of empirical research for the larger community, were approaches that contributed to rapport and cooperation. Mailed questionnaires yielded negligible responses. Telephone discussions, obtaining entry to speak about the project at religious and cultural gatherings, explanatory meetings with leaders of sub-groups within the community, served as excellent foot-in-the-door techniques. The local multicultural centre and the climate for favourable interaction it provided proved most useful in creating rapport and credibility with leaders/sub-leaders. Entry into South Asian homes was subsequently achieved with their cooperation. Television and radio presentations on the South Asian programs, flyers placed in the ethnic grocery stores and cinemas alerted some people.

2. Expressions of feelings of threat, "saving face" devices.

Obtaining the South Asian sample was plagued by frustration. Thus, for example, appointments were not kept (forgetting or "disappearing" with no follow-up information), giving the interviewer incorrect addresses or addresses that did not exist, interviewers having to answer lengthy questioning by spouses, even after letters of solicitation had been sent to both husband and wife, extensive publicity had been done,

and where long meetings with leaders/sub-leaders (males usually) had taken place.

Other sources of discomforture for respondents included: responding to certain biographical questions, e.g., annual family income, even where a salary scale was used. Informal observations of the respondents' home settings were made. However, records were kept only for items that South Asian informants felt would be acceptable to the individuals involved. Thus, for example, observer estimates of the price range of dwellings occupied by respondents were considered unacceptable, hence were not recorded.

Sensitivity to ethical considerations from the South Asian perspective and allowing people opportunity to "save face" eased the tension of a new and perhaps threatening experience. Interviewers adopted an attitude of acceptance of respondents' indirect overtures that they did not wish to answer certain items, or their inaccurate claims for certain acts (e.g., claiming to have phoned the interviewers when in fact no call had been made). They accepted the respondent's refusal to respond to questions creating too much conflict (e.g., making preferential choices between mother and father).

3. Control Measures

The social psychologist is always concerned about the authenticity of interviewee's responses to questions that may tend to elicit responses that are socially desirable in the culture, i.e, the tendency to present oneself in favourable light. The data reveal two major trends in the check (Crowne and Marlowe, 1964) for this concern: (1) judgments that related to the respondent herself were not contamina-

ted by the social desirability tendency, i.e., respondents were willing to admit, for example, that they gossip at times, feel resentful when they don't get their own way, feel like smashing things on occasion, etc. That is, respondents were willing to admit to private feelings that may not materialize in overt behaviours.

(2) judgments that related to interactions with others, however, seemed to elicit more socially desirable responses, at least from a western perspective. Thus, respondents say they never hesitate to help someone in trouble, they have never disliked someone, they would never go to a movie without paying for it, they are always courteous even to people who are disagreeable, etc.

Careful steps had been taken to ensure eliciting valid and reliable responses from respondents. Thus, "filler" items had been inserted at "strategic" points in the several measures, tests of each dimension had been employed to permit cross-validation, the favourable end of scales had been switched, and at periodic intervals a single question was given in two formats as a check on consistency of response. Given these precautions the question is raised as to whether items under #(2) are culture-bound, i.e., indicative of the social desirability tendency in western culture in which the test had originally been standardized, but not necessarily from the perspective of South Asian culture. Given the controlled socialization for South Asian girls and their narrow experience in the real world during adolescence revealed by the study, one cannot overlook the consideration that perhaps their responses were made from this perspective, rather than from a motive to present themselves in favourable light. Thus, for example, the South

Asian woman does not normally handle payment at a movie because she is always escorted by males in her family; hence she may have insufficient experience to judge her level of honesty. Or, since being helpful is a fundamental value in her socialization and she operates primarily in her family environment she may again lack the experience to make accurate judgments of her potential behaviours.

4. Needs for semantic and concept clarification.

The English language was widely spoken by South Asian women in this particular sample; some women in fact considered English their primary language (e.g., women from Guyana, Trinidad). However, several women spoke the language well at a concrete level, but less well at an abstract level and at a level of generalization. Examples, meanings, explanations had to be provided by the interviewer. Attempts were made to standardize these elaborations for all respondents; contextual meanings were given in the interview schedule for words such as: irk, gourmet, often, criticize, competitive, resentful; handling concepts such as: woman, who am I, feeling secure, woman's role, aspirations, called for some assistance.

5. Interviewer and Volunteer Characteristics.

No single set of interviewer characteristics can be labelled the appropriate "successful" set for entry into the homes of this particular minority group. Responsible, trained, attractive, courteous interviewers were employed throughout the project. Patience, and a "waiting it out" approach helped. Contrary to this investigator's initial expectation, younger interviewers were more successful in establishing good

rapport with South Asian women than interviewers of the respondents' age range. More mature-looking and highly efficient Anglo-Saxon women are seemingly perceived as somewhat threatening by South Asian women. Youthful, fresh, open-minded, enthusiastic but relaxed, non-judgmental interviewers did better.

So too, no single set of respondent characteristics identifies the volunteer in this particular minority group. Variables such as: education level, religious affiliation, age, knowledge of English, husband approval, were not necessarily correlated with volunteerism. Some highly educated individuals who may have provided very insightful data refused to participate. Others were most gracious but clearly communicated a sense of definite unwillingness. Still others were apathetic and disinterested. Husband disapproval always inhibited the woman. Having only recently entered the country at the time the study was conducted many women were engrossed with "survival" problems and were in no mood for research. These problems included husbands' unemployment, women working shifts in factories on an irregular basis, child care, family illness, family visitors from overseas. Interviewer-respondent relationships that "clicked" yielded productive, enjoyable, even memorable experiences for both participants in the interview process.

6. The inadequacy of Behaviourist Methodology.

In this writer's judgment paper-and-pencil measures and standardized interview schedules patterned on a rigorous Behaviouristic model tend to yield rather sterile data about South Asians. The more informal

observer-participant method used extensively by anthropologists yields more insight into the rich, complex inner life of this group of Canadians. South Asian peoples originate in rich written cultures, but communication among ordinary people is essentially oral. This characteristic should be considered in designing research on South Asians. In addition, the more informal personalized method facilitates entry into this community and creates the much-needed rapport more readily.

Issues Emerging From the Study

1. The relationship between socialization and achievement aspirations.

In general, studies of North American women reveal a significant negative correlation between a traditional mode of socialization and achievement; a significant positive correlation between a contemporary mode of socialization and achievement (Lipman-Blumen, 1972). The literature indicates that these trends may well derive from the historical-cultural dichotomization of the nature of male-femaleness that existed in western culture until relatively recently (Cormack, 1961, Lipman-Blumen, 1972, Callahan, 1971). One theoretical focus of the study was to examine the nature of the relationship between socialization and achievement aspirations in the South Asian sample. Given the constraints that only a limited literature on middle class South Asian women is available, there nevertheless exists some support for the exploratory assertion that a complementary view of the nature of male-femaleness (even if rather confused and ill-defined) prevails in the South Asian (Hindu) culture (Cormack, 1961, with reference to Vedic

writings pre-600 B.C.). The tentative expectation deriving from this assertion is that middle class South Asian women are perhaps freer to model themselves on behaviours that traditionally have been categorized as either "male" or "female" in western culture. Thus, it may be expected that while South Asian women may tend to both experience and retain traditionally feminine behaviours, this traditionalism will not necessarily extend to achievement orientedness, i.e., a traditional mode of socialization and achievement may be independent dimensions in the South Asian (Hindu) culture, rather than correlated dimensions as in western culture. Some support for these expectations was found in the present study. South Asian women emerge as clearly traditional on values pertaining to home, family, children and religion. However, the data indicate that they do not experience "fear of success" (Horner, 1975), they show high achievement orientation, and they have high aspirations both for themselves and for their daughters. Further testing is required to establish the generalizability of these findings.[9]

Recognition is given to recent findings that the contemporary western women is a more androgynous[10] person (Bem 1975) consequently the future may well point to independence between the dimensions of mode of socialization and achievement for North American women. The present study, yielded some support for this expectation though in an unexpected and perhaps disturbing direction. More specifically, while the Anglo Saxon sample emerged as "contemporary" on tests of self and role perception, they tended to score significantly lower on achievement based tests. Again, further testing is required to establish these findings with more certainty.

2. The influence of social norms on women's achievement aspirations.

As is commonly recognized in Protestant societies, hard work and the pursuit of success became moral ideals and many analysts contend that these moral ideals led to the economic accomplishments of the Protestant societies. Given this hard work-success oriented climate, why is it that the female sector of North American society is besieged by a condition described and documented by American psychologist Matina Horner (1975), as "fear of success"?; i.e., why is it that girls in North American society experience anxiety about achieving because they expect unfavourable consequences arising from success, such as: fear of losing friends, not finding a marriage partner, fear of becoming lonely, isolated, unhappy, because of success.

Horner used a story telling imagery technique to elicit achievement responses from American female college students. Her content analyses of these data revealed that even girls who were competing successfully at college, displayed fear of social rejection, concern about their femininity/normality and indeed their stories revealed denial of success.

In general, coverage of achievement motivation in women is limited; even less research has been conducted on cross-cultural samples. To this writer's knowledge, no empirical research has been conducted on achievement aspirations in cultures, such as the South Asian, where there is no dating system, where every girl's marriage is almost assured because part of her father's duty is to find a spouse for her, where romantic love is not a major component of marital expectation

and where marriage is often by parental arrangement (present South Asian sample: marriage by arrangement 46.7%; by own choice, "love marriage" 41.0%), i.e., where many experiences likely to generate anxiety and fear, as identified by Horner, are not a significant aspect of the culture.

There are some suggestions (Marlowe, 1975) that other-worldly religions, such as Hinduism, which stress a dissolution of individuality into a universal spirit do not provide the kind of cognitive climate in which achievement motivation flourishes. Empirical evidence for this suggestion is, as yet, lacking.

The present study utilized Horner's story-telling method to probe the nature of achievement motivation in South Asian and Anglo-Saxon women. Participants were asked to tell a story about the following situation: After first term finals, Anne finds herself at the top of her medical school class. The themes in the stories were analyzed using Horner's categories. The data revealed that for South Asian respondents there was negligible occurrence of anxiety connected with the expectation of success. Respondent story imagery did not reflect feelings that success would result in social rejection or loss of femininity/normality. Rather, success was viewed as bringing happiness to the individual involved, as well as to her family, a bright and continued career is predicted, and potential contributions to the society are envisioned. Indeed, many South Asian stories had a "fairytale" tone to them: "Anne will become a doctor, and everyone will be happy ever after."

Stories by Anglo-Saxon women were more complex, especially with regard to analyses of the anxieties likely to be experienced by Anne. The data showed clearly that while the "happiness-success-continued career" theme of the South Asian stories did emerge in their stories as well, there was a well defined anxiety component based on fear of social rejection of various descriptions.

Interestingly, though not yielding significant differences, neither South Asians nor Anglo Saxons had ever experienced "fear of success" because of fear of social rejection, or being unattractive as a marriage partner during girlhood. The concept of "fear of success" was unknown to either group during adolescence. Finally it should be noted that the South Asians reported a deep respect for learning and education in their homes - indeed, the Goddess Saraswati, symbol of learning and knowledge (fine arts) - is glorified by many. Seemingly, these women were encouraged to model their behaviour on the best educated people in the family, parents encouraged high school performance through rewards, father shared the girls' intellectual interests more frequently than mother, but both parents valued higher education for women.

3. Tolerance of diversity in multicultural societies.

The climate of ethnic relations in Ontario during the early 1970s was marred by increasing reports of violence involving White Canadians and new Canadians of South Asian origin. Slowly newspapers and media began carrying reports of overt racism, verbal abuse, and the distribution of hate literature against the newcomers by sectors of the white community. Racial tension, verbal and physical abuse even extended to

South Asian children. The antipathy expressed by White Canadians became so pervasive that the Council of Metropolitan Toronto set up a task force on human relations to investigate the racial incidents, the socio-cultural milieu in which they occur and to offer recommendations for alleviating the situation. The outcome of the study by the task force was a lengthy document entitled, Now is not too late (Pitman, 1977), mentioned earlier in this paper.

It was in the context of this racial zeitgeist in Ontario that this part of the study was undertaken. A volunteer sample of males and females, students and non-students (N = 189), were asked three broad questions about their perceptions of South Asian women. These questions were: "How do women of East Indian (South Asian) origin 'come across' to you?" "What do you like about them, and what do you dislike about them?"

Rankings of common traits elicited and trait descriptions yielded three categories of data: positive/liked traits (beauty, intelligence, grace); negative/disliked traits (traditional dress, "tikka" [dot] on Hindu woman's forehead, speaking home languages); and traits which shifted from a positive to a negative direction, (e.g., while people liked the South Asian woman's quietness and politeness, these perceptions shifted to her being perceived as aloof, unfriendly, and lacking in vitality.

While the data are only suggestive, they seem to imply that people in the majority group expect the ethnic minority to renounce its ancestral culture and life style. Western dress, the English language,

Anglo-Saxon based customs, food and life style are seemingly the only basis for toleration, possibly acceptance. Hughes and Kallen call this the Anglo Conformity Model of ethnic integration, i.e, a one-way process of required acculturation, with the possibility that the minority ethnic culture will become extinct. In contrast, the Cultural Pluralism Model promoted by the Canadian government is at variance with the Anglo Conformity model. Hughes and Kallen point out that cultural pluralism requires that processes of acculturation and assimilation be limited and controlled. Only such degrees of integration necessary for effective participation in the larger society is to be expected of ethnic minorities sharing the country.

For new Canadians the discrepancies perceived between national policy and the expectation of retaining cultural identity with dignity, and the resistance-negativism-hostility encountered in interpersonal relationships creates a dilemma for which they are unprepared. The data suggest ethnocentrism and lack of sensitivity to official policy among at least sections of the majority group. Indeed, it would seem that the public is not well informed about government policy on multiculturalism. There exists only differential support for the active support of multicultural programs (Berry, et al., 1977).

4. Adaptation and mental health problems.

South Asian women, in general, have been socialized in a protected and sheltered environment (Naidoo, in press). Many do not possess the skills and traits for coping with the expectations of North American society, even where the women have a high level of formal education. One well educated young woman said to me: "I was too

frightened to speak when I first came here". Another said: "I was frightened to shake hands with our Canadian neighbour (male) when he extended his hand in greeting because I had never done this before".

In an aggressive, competitive, power-oriented culture, South Asian women frequently find themselves relegated to peripheral positions in Canadian group settings. A young woman student at the University of Toronto interviewed on the Mike McManus program said: "I felt like a non-person in the University". Another, the only woman in a local pottery class, I was told by a Canadian colleague, is simply ignored.

Depression about the loss of a son and her failure to conceive another[11] was offered as an explanation for why a Sikh woman killed herself and her four daughters in Calgary recently. South Asian women raised within the warmth and closeness of the extended family (especially that provided by women members) frequently experience isolation and alienation. There are no women with whom to share anxieties; they frequently feel they cannot share these anxieties with their spouses without "losing face".

There is a growing need for the creation of both South Asian sponsored self-support systems and cross-ethnic support systems. Where such systems do exist, this does not necessarily guarantee that South Asians will utilize the facilities without considerable persuasion at a very personalized level. There is an urgent need, too, for South Asian men to participate more actively in facilitating the integration of their women into the larger society, where the need to do so exists. Entry into Canadian society is relatively easy for South Asian men; it is much more difficult for South Asian women.

The Need for Wider and Fresh Perspectives

There is a pressing need for more empirical research on South Asian cultures, values and attitudes, experiences and view of the world. South Asian professionals in the social sciences, in particular, must be encouraged to engage in such endeavours. Knowledge and insight into the culture and its peoples, accessible to North Americans, will surely promote a more congenial climate of receptivity and communication. Finally, there is a need for fresh perspectives in research attitudes, research methods, and interdisciplinary communication as psychologists broaden their base of inquiry to include many more peoples of the world than have traditionally engaged their attention.

References

Anant, S. S. Harijans' perceptions of their status: A study in Andhra Pradesh (India). A paper presented at the annual meetings of the Canadian Psychological Association, Victoria, B.C., June 1973.

Barry III, H., Bacon, M. K. & Child, I. L. A cross-cultural survey of some sex differences in socialization. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1957, 55 (3), 327-332.

Bem, Sandra L. Sex role adaptability: One consequence of psychological androgyny. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1975, 31, 634-643.

Beny, R. & Menen, A. India. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Ltd., 1969.

Berry, J., Kalin, R., & Taylor, D. Multiculturalism and ethnic attitudes in Canada. Ottawa: Ministry of Supply & Services Canada, 1977.

Buchignani, N. A review of the historical and sociological literature on East Indians in Canada. Canadian Ethnic Studies, 1977, 9 (1), 86-108.

Bullough, V. L. China and India: Inferiority is not only western. In V.L. Bullough, The subordinate sex; a history of attitudes toward women. Urbana: University of Illinois, 1973, pp. 231-366.

Callahan, S. Feminine response to function. Humanitas, 1971, 6 (3), 295-310.

Cannell, C. F. & Kahn, R. L. Interviewing. In G. Lindzey & E. Aronson (Eds.): The Handbook of Social Psychology, 2nd Ed., Vol. 2. Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1968, pp. 526-595.

Cormack, M. L. The Hindu woman. New York: Teachers College Publications, 1953.

Cormack, M. L. She who rides a peacock: Indian students and social change. London: Asia Publishing House, 1961.

Chodorow, N. Being and doing: A cross-cultural examination of the socialization of males and females. In V. Gornick & B. K. Moran (Eds.), Woman in sexist society; studies in power and powerlessness. New York: Basic Books, 1971, pp. 173-197.

Crowne, D.P. & Marlowe, D. The approval motive. New York: Wiley, 1964.

David, L. The East Indian family overseas. Social and Ecnomic Studies, 1964, 13 (2), 382-396.

Du Brin, A. J. Educated women in a changing society. IN A. J. Du Brin, Women in transition. Springfield Illinois: Thomas, 1972, pp. 9-156.

Ferguson, T. A white man's country: An exercise in Canadian prejudice. Toronto: Doubleday Canada Ltd., 1975.

Green, H. B. Socialization values in West African, Negro, and East Indian cultures: A cross-cultural comparison. Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 1971, 2 (3), 309-312.

Hardwick, F. C. From beyond the western horizon: Canadians from the sub-continent of India. Canadian culture series, #4. Vancouver: Tantalus Research Ltd., 1974.

Henry, F. The dynamics of racism in Toronto: A research report. Toronto: York University, 1978.

Horner, M. S. Femininity and successful achievement: A basic inconsistency. In Krupat, E. (Ed.) Psychology in Social. Glenview, Illinois: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1975.

Hughes, D. R. & Kallen, E. The Anatomy of Racism: Canadian Dimensions. Montreal: Harvest House, 1974.

Jacobson, D. Indian women in the process of development. Journal of International Affairs, 1976-77, 30 (2), 211-242.

Jeffery, P. Migrants and refugees: Muslim and Christian families in Bristol. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976.

Kapur, R. Role conflict among employed housewives. Indian Journal of Industrial Relations, 1969, 5 (1), 39-67.

Kapur, P. Marriage and the working woman in India. London: Vikas Publications, 1972.

Kitchener-Waterloo Record: Girls born in India still scorned by parents who wanted boys, November 3, 1977, p. 55.

Kuper, H. The Indian people in Natal. Durban: Natal University Press, 1960.

Leavitt, R. R. Women in other cultures. In V. Gornick & B. K. Moran (Eds.), Woman in sexist society; Studies in power and powerlessness. New York: Basic Books, 1971, pp. 276-303.

Life together: A report on human rights in Ontario. Published by the Ontario Human Rights Commission, 1977.

Lipman-Blumen, Jean. How ideology shapes women's lives. Scientific American, (January), 1972, 34-42.

Mace, D. & Mace V. Marriage: East and West. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1960.

Marlowe, L. Social Psychology: An interdisciplinary approach to human behaviour, (2nd ed.). Boston: Holbrook Press, Inc., 1975.

Meer, F. Portrait of Indian South Africans. Durban: Avon House, 1969.

Mehta, R. The western educated Hindu woman. New York: Asia Publishing House, 1970.

Meyer, J. J. Sexual life in ancient India. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1953.

Morsbach, G. Auto and hetero stereotypes of Indian students in South Africa. Journal of Behavioural Science, 1972, 1 (4), 161-167.

Naidoo, J. C. & Fiedler, F. E. Perceptions of self and significant others by Indian and American students. Indian Journal of Psychology, 1962, 37, 115-126.

Naidoo, J. C. Women of South Asian and Anglo Saxon origins in Canadian context: Self perceptions, socialization, achievement aspirations. In C. S. Adamec (Ed.), Sex roles: Origins, influences and implications for women. Montreal: Eden Press, in press).

Naidoo, J. C. East Indian women in the Canadian context. In K. V. Ujimoto & G. Hirabayashi (Eds.), Visible minorities and multiculturalism: Asians in Canada. Scarborough, Ontario: Butterworth, 1980, 193-218.

Pitman, W. Now is not too late. A report submitted to the Council of Metropolitan Toronto by the Task Force on Human Relations, November, 1977.

Ross, A. D. The Hindu family in its urban setting. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967.

Siddique, C. M. Structural separation and family change: An exploratory study of the immigrant Indian and Pakistani community of Saskatoon, Canada. International Review of Modern Sociology, 1977, 7 (1), 13-34.

Smock, A. C. Bangladesh: A struggle with tradition and poverty. In J. Z. Giele & A. C. Smock, Women: Roles and status in eight

countries. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1977, pp. 83-126.

Srinivas, M. N. The changing position of Indian women. Man, 1977, 12, 221-238.

Taylor, W. S. Basic personality in orthodox Hindu culture patterns. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1948, 43, 3-12.

The Green Paper on immigration. Canadian Ethnic Studies, 1975, 7, (1), 1-92.

Thompson, E. Suttee: A historical and philosophical inquiry into the Hindu rite of widow burning. London: Allen & Unwin, 1928.

Towards equality: Report of the committee on the status of women in India. New Delhi: Department of Social Welfare, 1975.

Ubale, B. Equal opportunity and public policy. A report on concerns of the South Asian Canadian community regarding their place in the Canadian mosaic. Submitted to the Attorney General of Ontario, October, 1977.

Uberoi, N. Sikh women in Southall. Race, 1964, 6 (1), 34-40.

Van den Berghe, P. L. Race attitudes in Durban, South Africa. Journal of Social Psychology, 1962, 57, 55-72.

Wadley, S. S. Women and the Hindu tradition. Signs: Journal of women in Culture and Society, 1977, 3, (1), 113-125.

Walker, G. B. The Hindu World: An encyclopedic survey of Hinduism. Vols. I & II. New York: Praeger, 1968.

Footnotes

[1]The "South Asian" label is viewed as an acceptable "umbrella" term describing the heterogenous group of people whose ancestry originates in the Indian sub-continent. The group varies widely in culture, religion, socio-economic status, and immediate country of origin. Earlier writings most commonly referred to these people as "East Indians", "Hindus", "Sikhs", or "Asian Indians".

[2]A paper presented at the 37th annual convention of the International Council of Psychologists, Henry Chauncey Conference Centre, Educational Testing Service, Princeton, New Jersey, U.S.A., August, 1979. Symposium title: Theoretical and Methodological Issues in Cross-Cultural Research on Women.

[3]Law, religion, morality; in effect, the universal laws of nature that uphold the cosmos.

[4]Hindu practice whereby a widow immolated herself on the funeral pyre of her husband; abolished by the British in 1829.

[5]These estimates were used rather than those provided by Census Canada, 1971 for the following reasons: (i) The census used the label "East Indian" to define South Asians, thus possibly excluding immigrants of South Asian origins from countries such as Guyana; (ii) The published census data grouped Asians of all origins in a single category; (iii) The census totals for Asians resident in the census tracts under study were outdated by 1975 when data gathering commenced.

[6,7,8]Words used by potential respondents.

[9]A major study of women of South Asian and Anglo Saxon origins in Metropolitan Toronto is currently being conducted. This study will test

hypotheses deriving from the reported exploratory research and will examine the stability of the original findings.

[10]Exhibiting both "masculine" and "feminine" characteristics (from the Greek "andro," male, and "gyne," female).

[11]"Mom depressed over lack of son." Kitchener-Waterloo Record, Friday, May 4, 1979, p. 10.

Multiculturalism and South Asian Minorities in Canada

Josephine C. Naidoo
Department of Psychology
Wilfrid Laurier University
Waterloo, Ontario

Eighty-eighth Annual Convention of the American Psychological Association: Division of Community Psychology, Montreal, September 1-5, 1980.

Abstract

The selected exploratory data examined White Canadian perceptions of South Asian (East Indian & Pakistani) immigrants from several perspectives. The studies were conducted in university and community settings in adjacent twin cities in Southern Ontario in the 70's, a period of inter-ethnic conflict in this part of the country.

Study I (N=189) presented the percentage of White respondents favourable towards South Asian women and a ranking of common liked and disliked traits. Data were analyzed by the respondents' sex, occupation, and contact with the target group. Female students tended to be most positive; many respondents were "neutral." Certain traits were both liked and disliked. Study II (N=100) tested the social perceptions of White business students toward 16 minority groups in Canada on the Semantic and Behavioural Differentials. Later subjects were placed in a contrived simulated hiring setting. Their task was to select a candidate for a business position from résumés purportedly representing these 16 minorities. Results showed a clear preference for hiring Anglo and French Canadians. There was also preference for hiring Oriental Canadians over Americans. Least preference was shown for South Asians. Study III (N=100) reported on the forced choice value judgments of White preadolescents to stimulus pictures varying by race (South Asian/Anglo Saxon), sex (male/female), and name (familiar/familiar). Fourteen personality-social items were used. Results showed preferences for pictures of White children and girls on positive items. White children and boys (irrespective of race or name) were chosen on negative items.

These data were discussed with reference to findings about value differences between South Asians and Anglo Saxons based on a survey of 210 women respondents from the two sub-cultures. The data revealed a duality in the South Asian women's responses to their host country. They feel strongly about the retention of traditional values about family, religion, and mar-

riage. They are simultaneously contemporary on values about education, achievement, and opportunities for all. The cultural tone of the homes visited combined western and traditional lifestyles. Hindi and Punjabi were spoken in most homes but there was a clear movement toward speaking English. The study revealed a high level of social exclusiveness between South Asians and Anglo Saxons.

The several studies were viewed in the perspective of articles on South Asians in the literature. The ideological and practical parallels between South Asians and other Canadians arising from preferential immigration selection were pointed out. This ideological congruence has not been empirically endorsed in studies of White attitudes towards South Asians cited in the literature. The present exploratory results tend to be more optimistic than this literature, possibly reflecting regional and demographic differences.

The statistics and trends in South Asian immigration into Canada were reviewed. The implications of the data cited for a pluralistic society were examined with reference to current models of ethnic integration. Suggestions for promoting multiculturalism in Canada were made.

Multiculturalism and South Asian[1] Minorities in Canada

Origins of South Asians in Canada

South Asians immigrating to Canada fall into one of four categories: (i) The Pioneer Sikhs who entered British Columbia in the early years of this century; (ii) Well-educated people who came to Canada between 1947 and 1970 in response to Canadian needs for professionals in Canadian institutions of higher learning; (iii) The Ugandan Asian refugees admitted to Canada on humanitarian grounds in the early 70's; and (iv) The late 70's period during which people of South Asian origins from the Asian subcontinent and other parts of the world have been accepted into the country. This last period marks a shift from "white collar" to "blue collar" skills as Canada's need picture has changed (Hardwick, 1974; Buchignani, 1977).

The largest concentrations of South Asian Canadians are in Vancouver, Victoria, Toronto, Montreal and Ottawa. Buchignani (1977) estimates that the South Asian population in Canada is at least 150,000; more recent estimates place the number at 250,000.[2] However, even today, South Asians make up less than 1% of the Canadian population and are widely dispersed across the country (Buchignani, 1980). The newcomers originate in many parts of the world: South Asia (India, Pakistani, Bangledesh, Sri Lanka), Africa (several countries of East & South Africa), the Caribbean (Trinidad), South America (Guyana), the Middle East, Fiji, Malaysia, Britian, Germany and the United States. People's backgrounds, therefore, are extremely diverse and complex, though they tend to be categorized as a <u>single</u> group by the larger society (Chattopadhyay, 1979).

Historical Attitudes Toward South Asians

The entry into Canada of South Asians, distinguished by markedly different racial, cultural, religious, and value characteristics, has not been smooth. Thus, for example, Ferguson (1975) details the Komagatu Maru incident of 1914. On that occasion, the Japanese vessel, "Komagatu Maru," chartered by the enterprising Punjabi Gurdit Singh to bring some 376 prospective Punjabi immigrants to British Columbia, was refused entry into the country by court order. Amid violence and hostility from local residents and rioting by passengers, immigration officers, the police, and the navy aboard the Canadian cruiser "Rainbow," escorted the "Komagatu Maru" out of Vancouver Harbour. It was not until the postwar era (1947-present) that South Asians were accorded full political, economic, and social rights and privileges in the country. During the period 1921-47 the population stabilized at about 1,100, and was not to reach its 1904-20 peak of 5,000 until well into the 1950's (Buchignani, 1980). Liberalization of immigration policies did not materialize until 1967. At that time factors pertaining to race, ethnicity, and nationality in the selection of immigrants were abandoned.

White fears of a South Asian "invasion" (Hardwick, 1974, p. 21) continue to the present day, although to a lesser degree, and more so in some sectors of Canadian society than in others. Thus, the Ubale Report entitled: Equal Opportunity and Public Policy (1977), described numerous incidents of racial violence against South Asians in Metropolitan Toronto; the Pitman Report, entitled: Now is not too late (1977), portrays the nature of the victim and assailant in such incidents; the Henry Research Report, entitled: The dynamics of racism in Toronto (1978), estimates that some 50%

of White Torontonians have a racist orientation toward Non-White residents in the city. The document "Life Together" (1977) reports on human rights in the province of Ontario. It called for a revision of the Ontario Human Rights Code of 1962. Other legislation, protective of minority group human rights, such as the Fair Employment Practices Act of 1953 (Canada, 1970), has been systematically enforced in recent years. All four documents offer numerous recommendations for alleviating racial tension, hostility and fear between White Canadians and newcomers from Non-Western countries.

Liberalization of immigration regulations, commenced in the 60's, moved to more restrictive policies by the mid-70's (the "Green Paper" on immigration, 1975). Some people view these developments as panic responses to pressures from racists; others view them as a reflection of rightful concern about the long-term effects of immigration on Canadian society.

Empirical Research on South Asians in Canada

The sudden changes in character of Canada's major cities resulting from the recent influx of non-western peoples has created a "cultural shock" for White Canadians (Pitman, 1977). Information about South Asians in Canada has lagged behind their immigration and settlement in the country. Writers in the field report the paucity of "hard data" on this Canadian minority. There exist gaps and omissions in the meagre literature relevant to them (Buchignani, 1979; Li, 1979; Naidoo, 1979).

The present paper reports briefly on major findings of several exploratory[3] studies conducted by this researcher on South Asians and Anglo-Saxon respondents resident in Canada. University and community settings in adjacent twin cities[4] in southern Ontario were used.

White Canadian Perceptions of South Asians

The studies were all undertaken in the 70's, a period during which the climate of ethnic relations in southern Ontario was marred by reports of violence involving White Canadians and new Canadians of South Asian origins.

STUDY I (Naidoo, 1979)

One hundred and eighty-nine White Canadians, mainly undergraduate students, 65 males and 76 females, responded to the following questions: How do South Asian women "come across" to Canadians? What do they like about them; what do they dislike about them?

Traits of South Asian women, liked and disliked by White Canadians are presented in Table I.

Insert Table 1 about here

Examples of positive, liked characteristics pertained to the women's beauty, grace, intelligence, femininity, mystique, self-control. Negative adjectives used describing disliked characteristics were: dirty, greasy, food smells, alien odor. Only a minority of the respondents liked South Asian women wearing their traditional dress (the correct label for the most frequently worn Indian dress, the "sari" was not used at all) and then only on special occasions. The "tikka" (dot) on the Hindu woman's forehead was not liked. One respondent wrote: "we are all equal here," others wrote "if in Canada dress as Canadians" and "dislike jewels worn on face." There was strong dislike, too, of South Asians speaking their home languages. Again, the feeling expressed was that South Asians should speak English if they live in Canada.

Observations about negative traits such as accent, dress, mannerisms, are widely recognized in the South Asian community. There is less awareness of the finding tht certain single traits exhibited by South Asian women may be viewed both positively and negatively by people in the larger society. Thus, for example, while people in the larger society like the South Asian woman's quietness and politeness, these perceptions shift to perceiving her as aloof, unfriendly, and lacking in vitality. In South Asian cultures, the value "reserve," is a virtue and a desirable characteristic, in particular for women's behaviour. By contrast, "reserve" is a less desirable characteristic in Canadian culture, and is possibly interpreted as "aloof."

Table 2 classifies the respondents' statements along a favourable-unfavourable continuum. Table 2 indicates a high proportion of the respon-

---

Insert Table 2 about here

---

dents fall into a neutral category, i.e., some people said they had no basis for making judgments about South Asian women because of lack of contact. About 1/3 of the males and females indicated "no contact"; about 2/3 had "occasional contact." Seemingly, the "occasional contact" moves in either a favourable or unfavourable direction which points to the salience of the nature of the contact experience people have in interacting with one another, i.e., contact per se is not necessarily a sufficient basis for promoting positive perceptions and relationships. The few male students falling into the highly unfavourable category made statements such as: "like nothing about them...I'm prejudiced...too many immigrants...customs unacceptable." Non-student females in clerical type settings said: "hard to

tolerate...can't keep up to our pace...I wish I didn't have to see any more ever again."

Female students tended to be most favourably inclined. An example of a very favourable comment is: "they are human like us; when you get to know them, they have a hidden warmth, commitment to friends, hospitality."

STUDY II (Martin, Naidoo, & Sheehan, 1980)

The social perceptions of 100 Anglo Saxon business students toward 16 minority group stimulus concepts represented in Canada were pre-tested. Clear ethnic clusters emerged on the factor analyses computed from scores derived from 3 dimensions of the Semantic Differential (Osgood, et al., 1957) and 5 dimensions of the Behavioural Differnetial (Triandis, 1964). The South Asian groups (such as: East Indian immigrant, Canadian of Pakistani origin, etc.), either clustered as a single factor or they clustered with Non-Caucasian groups such as Oriental immigrant, Jamaican, American Black. As Table 3 shows, there was clear preference[5] for Caucasian groups in Canada; Blacks and Orientals were preferred over South Asians.

Insert Table 3 about here

Several months later, the pretested subjects were placed in a simulated hiring setting. Resumes for the contrived position of assistant controller, with an average salary of $18,000 per year and a salary range of $15,000 to $25,000 were created. The individuals purportedly applying for the position were of seven different ethnic backgrounds such as Anglo-Saxon Canadian, a person of South Asian origin born in Canada, an Oriental immigrant. Educational qualifications, experience for the job, and order of appearance of

these two variables were controlled. The résumés read like normal applications for such an employment position.

The two basic findings from these data are illustrated in Table 4. There was clear preference[6] for hiring Anglo and French Canadians. However, contrary to expectation, there was also preference for hiring Oriental Canadians over Americans. Least preference was shown for South Asian groups.

Insert Table 4 about here

STUDY III (Naidoo, 1980. Data analysis in progress)

One hundred pre-adolescent children's preferences for pictures representing their peers were tested. The children in the pictures varied by ethnic origin (European/South Asian), sex (male/female), and name (familiar/unfamiliar). The respondents made choices between pairs of pictures with reference to a set of social behaviours (choose as a friend, invite to my home, etc.) and dispositional traits (does mean things, teases, etc.). Thus, for example, respondents presented with pictures of a White child versus a South Asian child had to make choices between the children on items such as: which of these two children do you think "has more friends," "is better looking," "is naughtier," etc. The experiment was carefully controlled for potential sources of bias such as the attractiveness level of the pictures, photographic conditions, order of presentation of pictures, etc. Preliminary results indicate some clear preferences for pictures of White children and girls on the positively oriented social dispositional items. However, interestingly, White children and boys (irrespective of ethnic origins or name) are viewed as more likely to engage in negatively

oriented social-dispositional behaviours such as: teasing others, cheating, being naughtier, etc.).

Insert Table 5 about here

In order to get a wider idea of South Asian children's experience in school & neighbourhood, telephone interviews were held with 20 volunteer South Asian parents in the community. The volunteers came from the more educated and economically comfortable segments of the local South Asian community. All the volunteers had children in the local public schools at some point. The data obtained indicated that overall, South Asian children have positive experiences in school and neighbourhood. Instances of name-calling by older children was the most serious complaint. Parents, in general, had high aspirations for their children and considered that these aspirations would be realized in Canada.

South Asian Value Differences in Canadian Context

STUDY IV (Naidoo, 1980 a,b,c)

One way of elucidating understanding of White Canadian attitudes toward South Asian women is to look at areas of value differences between the two cultures. Selected data from a study of 210 volunteer women respondents of South Asian and Anglo-Saxon origins conducted in the same adjacent cities in southern Ontario are presented below. Some of these differences have been reported elsewhere (Naidoo, 1980a) or will be published shortly (Naidoo, 1980 b,c). The reader is referred to these articles for further details.[7]

Attitudes Toward Canadian (Western) Culture

Table 6 illustrates the women's attitudes toward Canadian (Western) culture. The data reveal a duality in the nature of their responses. On

---

Insert Table 6 about here

---

the one hand, the women are traditional in their attitudes toward the family, religion, and marriage. In their Canadian settings they experience values associated with these three factors as "most different from the home culture," they "dislike and don't want" what they perceive around them with regard to these dimensions, and they "want to keep from the home culture," ideas about family, religion, marriage. On the other hand, they are forward moving and contemporary in certain of their attitudes. Thus, in their Canadian context, they are "most influenced by," "want and admire," educational aspirations, and opportunities for all; they express no "fear of success"[8] and they score highly on tests of achievement. Corroborating data for traditional attitudes expressed include the findings that the respondents, predominantly Hindu, perceive themselves as "somewhat religious," and they assert that their religious values have "not changed at all" since coming to Canada/western country. The basic philosophical beliefs in Karma[9] and Dharma[10] have a strong influence on the women's lives, but not Varna[11], except in marriage and in interpersonal relationships with the "scheduled classes" (lower castes) of India.

Humanistic, people-related values, are important to the women. Thus, the values they model for their children relate to respect, tolerance, sharing, helping. Informal discussions with South Asian women reveal aware-

ness among them that the values they view as ideal are at variance with those fostered in the larger more aggressive, competitive, and individualistic society.

Traditional marriage and family styles were viewed favourably; approximately half the sample were married by parental arrangement, the other half by their own choice, a "love marriage."

With regard to Women's Liberation Movements in the West, the women polarize in either a positive or negative direction, i.e., the larger positively oriented group show favourable attitudes toward such movements from adolescence to adulthood; similarly the smaller negatively oriented group show unfavourable attitudes from adolescence to adulthood. Further, most respondents feel that western views about the place of men and women in society have "little - to very little" influence on them.

Records were kept by the interviewers on pertinent characteristics of South Asian living. The general cultural tone of the homes visited was predominantly modern, western; some homes combined western and traditional styles. Traditional expressions of art included Indian batik, ivory and wooden carvings, figurines and pictures of major Hindu deities such as Lord Krishna and Lord Shiva, major religious leaders such as Lord Buddha, Guru Nanak (Sikhism), His Excellency the Aga Khan (Ismaili Muslims) and pictures of the holy book of the Sikhs (The Guru Granth Sahib), the holy mosque in Mecca (the sacred Kaaba, enshrining the Black Stone, the only surviving relic touched by the hands of the Prophet Muhammed) and wall hangings with Urdu script symbols for "Allah" and "Muhammed."

Respondents were asked about languages spoken in their home and host settings and were asked to indicate the dominant language spoken in Canada.

Hindi and Punjabi were the dominant languages spoken in the home country; several other Indian languages (Marathi, Bengali, Gujerati, Malayalam) and English were spoken by smaller numbers of the women.

However, there was clear movement to speaking English in Canada (95%); some 65% of the sample listed English as the dominant language in their Canadian home setings. Hindi and Punjabi and several other Indian languages were also spoken.

The interviewers' records indicated that the women's command of the English language[12] ranged from "acceptable" to mainly "good," with good vitality of speech. For this sample, only about 5% of the women required slow, careful probing or an interpreter to complete the interview.

Heterosexual Relationships, Dating, Inter-Ethnic Marriage

STUDY V (Naidoo, 1977)

An attempt was made to find out about the attitudes of South Asians toward dating, marriage, and heterosexual relationships. In the traditional Indian social system there is no dating, girls are carefully protected, virginity is overwhelmingly important, and the girl's honour is bound up with the father and family honour. Traditionally, marriage was by arrangement; there are few so-called "love marriages." In South Asian thinking marriage cements families and ensures family continuity. The romantic notion of marriage prevailing in western culture comprises only a minor aspect of the South Asian concept of marriage. Twenty respondents to a pilot telephone interview reported that when South Asian women enter Canadian society they are confused at the heterosexual patterns they perceive; they are not prepared and are even shocked by the new heterosexual attitudes and behaviours confronting them. How do South Asians react to these new values and how do

they resolve the differences in the two sets of cultural expectations? There was a range and a diversity in responses. Some people would stay as "Indian" as long as possible. They take their children back to India periodically so as to give the children an opportunity to learn Indian norms, values, and behaviours. Other people are somewhat more permissive but maintain control over their children's behaviours, and then there are those people who follow the Canadian pattern as they perceive it, i.e., a much more permissive pattern involving dating and freer heterosexual relationships.

In a recent study (Filteau, 1980) conducted in the Vancouver area, the following cluster of traits describing the South Asian concept of love emerged from the data obtained: respect, tolerance, obligation, duty, sacrifice, compromise and marriage. By contrast, the Canadian concept of love as perceived by the South Asian respondents comprised the values of individualism, materialism, independence, dating, divorce, selfishness and romance.

With regard to inter-ethnic marriage, again there was diversity in responses. Some people attempt to marry an Indian, Indian style. Other people accept an inter-ethnic marriage, sometimes with reservations; others overtly seem to accept it but respondents claim that these people experience an inner hurt and reservation that they do not openly verbalize. Since people do not openly speak about their feelings regarding inter-ethnic marriage, respondents resort to making judgements in terms of whether friends are invited to the marriage ceremony, how father and mother behave at the events, whether the father stays away in protest, and overt features of that nature. People felt that the contrasts between the Canadian concept of

marriage and the Indian accounted for these attitudes. Thus, for example, in the Indian concept, marriage means continuity of family; parents feel they gain a child in marriage. In the Canadian concept, marriage is private and individual; Indian parents feel that in an inter-ethnic marriage they lose a child. They also feel that there is a difference in interpersonal relationships and communications created by an inter-ethnic marriage. They report not feeling the same closeness to a Canadian spouse in an inter-ethnic marriage as they do towards the ethnic partner. It was felt that the ethnic spouse should make a more conscious attempt to integrate the Canadian spouse into the ethnic group. Finally, the respondents felt that Indian parents view playing a role in the child's marriage a privilege and a joy. Consequently, when children go their own individual ways and chose their own partners they are depriving parents of a very joyous life activity. In the Filteau study respondents expressed great concern over South Asian-Western marriage because of the difficulties involved in resolving differences in love-marriage concepts.

There was consensus that at present few models of inter-ethnic marriage exist. So, too, there are few models on how to raise children in the Canadian setting with its different view of heterosexual relationships. The feeling was that younger people with small children would have more time to "think through" how they were going to handle conflicting values about heterosexual relationships in the two cultures. With time more adequate models of heterosexual behaviour and inter-ethnic marriage would evolve.

These statements tend to support the contention made by other researchers (Filteau, 1980; Ames, 1970) that South Asian people act selectively and gradually in the process of social change.

Multiculturalism and South Asians in Canada

Buchignani (1980) raises the question: Are there fundamental cultural differences between South Asians and other Canadians? To consider this question, he presents a model of four interdependent levels of belief, ranging in importance, individual commitment, and temporal persistence, from the philosophical and value-laden to practical, value-free knowledge about the everyday world. He points out that Canadian immigrant selection criteria

---

Insert Figure 1 about here

---

serve to amplify certain ideological and practical parallels between South Asians and other Canadians by preferential selecting of individuals from among the skilled, educated, resourceful and heavily anglicized middle class. Although South Asians originate around the world, they share much in common with their Canadian counterparts regarding values and beliefs about economic success, basic rights and freedom, philosophies of society, right and wrong behaviour, practical knowledge about industrial social organization. They rather scrupulously respect the law, typically hold to a "protestant ethic" of work and expenditure and rapidly adapt to the material preferences of other Canadians, commonly buying their homes within five years of arriving in Canada.

However, the ideological congruence between South Asians and other Canadians observed by Buchignani has not been empirically endorsed in several studies of White perceptions of South Asians reported in recent literature. Thus, for example, a national survey (Berry, et al., 1977) of the ethnic and multicultural attitudes of 1849 Angloceltic, Francophone and

European Canadian respondents yielded data inconsistent with Buchignani's reflections. On the one hand there was a reasonably high level of overt tolerance for "immigrants who were coloured" (65.8%), and "highly educated" (78.9%), and overt racism was low. On the other hand, race was an important dimension in categorizing people. Racially different groups appeared at the bottom of the perceived racial hierarchy. French Canadians, the less educated, people in the lower economic groups, the younger and the older tended to be more conservative. For the total sample, East Indians (South Asians) were assigned above average ratings in the trait "stick together," and below average ratings on the traits "hardworking, important, Canadian, clean, similar to me, likeable, well known to me." When judged with reference to the White respondents' self (i.e., myself) East Indians were assigned a rank of 23 by Anglocelts and a rank of 24 by French Canadians respectively (out of 27 possible rankings).

A study comprising telephone interviews with 652 White Canadians in the western city of Saskatoon (Li, 1979) indicated substantial hostility toward Asians, East Indians, more so than Chinese. With reference to East Indians, 26.8% of the respondents felt that "Canada had been harmed by their coming," 41.8% "oppose their immigrating to Canada," 21.6% would "move if they came to live in great numbers in the district" and 22.4% would be "opposed to their becoming a close relative by marriage."

The Henry study (1978) of racism is Toronto reports a higher incidence of racist attitudes among older (retired) people, women at home (non-participants in the work force), religious people, the lower classes and the poorly educated, and people with authoritarian personality traits. Interestingly, Southern and Eastern Europeans tend to be more racist than Canadian-

born persons or persons born in Britain, the United States or Western Europe. South Asians were seen as more culturally different to White Canadians than were Blacks and they were perceived as more arrogant.

The Exploratory Studies in the Context of the Literature

In assessing the data from the several exploratory studies presented in this paper, more optimism, albeit cautious, for inter-ethnic relationships, seems warranted than is revealed by the findings of the studies cited in the literature. These differences may well arise from regional and demographic characteristics of people in various parts of this vast country.

There seems to be a fair amount of "neutrality" moving in the direction of favourability in the responses of the subjects tested. Study I indicates a high percentage of males, in particular, who chose not to make judgments of South Asian women because they lacked sufficient basis for doing so. Female students tended to be quite favourably inclined. An example of a very favourable comment is: "They are human like us; when you get to know them, they have a hidden warmth, commitment to friends, hospitality." While Study II did show that of the several minority groups tested strongest social acceptance and employment opportunities accrued to in-group members, the data also asserted that some 60% of the subjects tested would be willing to hire even the least popular minority group, the South Asian immigrants. In addition, these subjects were willing to allocate the same salary to the potential applicants irrespective of ethnic background. The consistent positive behaviour of the liberal fair-minded segment of the larger society toward minority groups tends to be neglected by analysts of inter-group relationships.

Finally, Study III indicates that White preadolescents show willingness

to extend positive traits beyond ethnic boundaries, to include girls irrespective of racial origin and unfamiliarity of name. Further, negative traits were not assigned to the South Asian out-group; rather they were assigned to the in-group and to boys, again regardless of race or name. Study III was a partial replication of a study of White preadolescent attitudes toward Blacks in the United States (Lerner & Knapp, 1976). That study showed consistent respondent assignment of positive traits to Whites and negative traits to Blacks. It would seem that different minority groups are not necessarily perceived in uniform ways by Whites. South Asian parents reported that overall their children had positive experiences in school and neighbourhood.

The widest social distance between South Asians and the larger society seem to relate to cultural differences regarding food, dress, mannerisms, etiquette, public use of home languages, traditional customs relevant to family, as described in Study I. Negative comments made by White respondents had a strong affective tone of rejection. The following statements are examples of negative perceptions: "...like nothing about them...customs unacceptable...I wish I didn't have to see any more ever again..." The present data admittedly are based on a narrow sampling of respondents; nevertheless, they suggest that Western dress, the English language, Anglo-Saxon based customs and lifestyle, at least in public settings, are a primary consideration for tolerance, perhaps acceptance. Hughes & Kallen (1974) call this the Anglo Conformity Model of ethnic integration, i.e., a one-way process of required acculturation, with the possibility that the minority ethnic culture will become extinct. By contrast, the Cultural Pluralism Model promoted by the Canadian Government is at variance with the Anglo Con-

---

Insert Figure II about here

---

formity model. Cultural pluralism requires only such degrees of integration by ethnic minorities necessary for effective participation in the larger society. It also requires some degree of social segregation by the ethnic minorities necessary for the retention and development of the ancestral culture and identity.

Studies V and VI reveal that South Asians perceive themselves as most different from other Canadians on values pertaining to family, religion, marriage. These values are sometimes externalized in customs, behaviours and dress - contrasting experiences - that are viewed as a threat, an irritant, as "non-Canadian." Unfortunately, these social contrast effects deter informal communication between the two cultural groups. Data collected under Study V indicated a high level of social exclusiveness between the two groups. Thus: 77.1% of the Anglo-Saxon women respondents say they interact most frequently socially with other White Canadians; 63.8% of the South Asian women do so with "South Asian women speaking my home language."

Conclusion: Promoting a Pluralistic Canada

It seems fair to contend that while there is some degree of negativism in the Canadian perspective on South Asians, attitudes for many have certainly not "jellied" and there exist several avenues for improved relationships between the two groups.

Most urgent, is a call for sterner legal sanctions for racially motivated acts of abuse and violence against South Asians. More effective alternatives to present human rights legislation would be the incorporation

of the legal redress for discrimination into the various provincial criminal codes (Buchignani, 1979).

Widescale government sponsored programs are needed to educate Canadians in the larger society for living within a pluralistic society (Pitman, 1977). Canadians generally are not informed about government policy on multiculturalism (Berry, 1977) and many people are not ready for racial mix. Government, educators, churches, social agencies, the mass media, all bear a responsibility.

A more enlightened perspective on western cultures and religions within the global context of many other cultures and religions remains to be adopted by Westerners generally. One aspect of multicultural literacy[13] has to be the recognition and acceptance of the rich spiritual, philosophic, and cultural heritage of people outside western countries and Christianity - on equal terms. Pluralistic living calls for a more truly reciprocal relationship between peoples of western and non-western origins. These are some of the basic premises for the flourishing of a truly pluralistic society in Canada.

References

Ames, M. Structural dimension of family life in the steel city of Jamshedpur, India. In M. Singer, Entrepreneurship and modernization of occupational cultures in South Asia, 1970. Program in Comparative Studies on Southern Asia. Monograph #12.

Berry, J., Kalin, R., & Taylor, D. Multiculturalism and ethnic attitudes in Canada. Ottawa; Ministry of Supply & Services Canada, 1977.

Buchignani, N. A review of the historical and sociological literature on East Indians in Canada. Canadian Ethnic Studies, 1977, 9(1), 86-108.

Buchignani, N. South Asian Canadians and the ethnic mosiac: An overview. Canadian Ethnic Studies, 1979, 9(1), 48-68.

Buchignani, N.L. Accommodation, adaptation, and policy: Dimensions of the South Asian experience in Canada. In K.V. Vjimoto & G. Hirabayashi (eds.), Visible minorities and multiculturalism: Asians in Canada, pp. 121-150. Toronto: Butterworths, 1980.

Canada. Laws, statutes, etc. Canada labour code part 1: Fair employment practices. Revised Statutes of Canada, 1970, C.L-1. Ottawa: Queen's Printers, 1970.

Chattopadhyay, S. The changing role of women: The case of South Asian women in Montreal, Canada. In, Proceedings of the conference on the integration of South Asians in Canada, Montreal, June 1979, 40-49.

Ferguson, T. A white man's country: An exercise in Canadian prejudice. Toronto: Doubleday Canada Ltd., 1975.

Filteau, C.H. The role of the concept of love in the Hindu family acculturation process. In K.V. Vjimoto and G. Hirabayashi (Eds.), Visible

minorities and multiculturalism: Asians in Canada. Toronto: Butterworth & Co. Ltd., 1980.

Hardwick, F.C. From beyond the western horizon: Canadians from the subcontinent of India. Canadian culture series, #4. Vancouver: Tantalus Research Ltd., 1974.

Henry, F. The dynamics of racism in Toronto: A research report. Toronto: York University, 1978.

Hughes, D.R. & Kallen, E. The anatomy of racism: Canadian dimensions. Montreal: Harvest House, 1974.

Lerner, R.M. & Knapp, J.R. Structure of racial attitudes: White middle adolescents. Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 5, #3, 1976, 283-300.

Li, P.S. Prejudice against Asians in a Canadian city. Canadian Ethnic Studies, 1979, 9(2), 70-77.

Life together. A report on human rights in Ontario. Published by the Ontario Human Rights Commission, 1977.

Martin, R.C., Naidoo, J.C., & Sheehan, G. Social distance perceptions and simulated hiring behaviours of White Anglo-Saxon students with reference to minority groups in Canada (Under review, 1980: Human Relations).

Naidoo, J.C. Canadian perceptions of East Indians. In K.V. Ujimoto & G. Hirabayashi (Eds.), Asian Canadians in a Multicultural Society. Proceedings of the Asian Canadian Symposium III, 1979.

Naidoo, J.C. East Indian women in the Canadian context: A study in social psychology. In K.V. Ujimoto & G. Hirabayashi, Visible minorities and multiculturalism: Asians in Canada. Toronto: Butterworths, 1980, a.

Naidoo, J.C. Women of South Asian and Anglo Saxon origins in Canadian context: Self perceptions, socialization, achievement aspirations. In C.S. Adamec (Ed.), Sex roles: Origins, influences and implications for women. Montreal: Eden Press, forthcoming b.

Naidoo, J.C. New perspectives on South Asian women in Canada. In N.A. Nyiri & T. Miljan (Eds.), Unity in diversity: Proceedings of interdisciplinary seminars at Wilfrid Laurier University (Vol. II). Waterloo: W.L.U. Press, forthcoming c.

Naidoo, J.C. Social attitudes of White Canadian preadolescents. In progress, 1980.

Nie, N.H., Hull, C.H., & Jenkins, J.G. SPSS: Statistical package for the social sciences (2nd ed.). New York: McGraw-Hill, 1975.

Osgood, C.E. & Tannebaum, P. The measurement of meaning. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1957.

Pitman, W. Now is not too late. A report submitted to the Council of Metropolitan Toronto by the Task Force on Human Relations, November, 1977.

Triandis, H.C. Explanatory factor analyses of the behaviour component of social attitudes. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1964, 68(4), 420-30.

Ubale, B. Equal opportunity and public policy. A report on concerns of the South Asian Canadian community regarding their place in the Canadian mosaic. Submitted to the Attorney General of Ontario, October, 1977.

Footnotes

[1]The "South Asian" label is viewed as an acceptable "umbrella" term describing the heterogenous group of people whose ancestry originates in the Indian sub-continent. The group varies widely in culture, religion, socio-economic status, and immediate country of origin. Earlier writings most commonly referred to these people as "East Indians," Hindus," Sikhs," or "Asian Indians." The labels "East Indians" and "South Asians" are used synonymously in this article since the former term is still widely used in the literature.

[2]Estimates of the South Asian population in Canada provided courtesy of the Indian Immigrant Aid Services, Toronto, are: 1/4 million, with an estimated 100-120,000 resident in Metropolitan Toronto.

[3]Exploratory studies. Findings should not be generalized until improved sampling procedures have been designed and further data have been collected. A major replication of several aspects of these studies is currently being conducted in Metro Toronto. Results given in the tables have been simplified to facilitate comprehension of the several and varied sources of data. For details, significance tests, and p levels, refer to relevant papers as listed under "References."

[4]Cities are unidentified to retain anonymity of participants as far as possible.

[5,6]A cross-tabulation procedure (Nie, et al., 1975), was performed to establish the rankings, tests and p levels of the ethnic stimulus concepts on the pre-test social acceptance measures and hiring decisions in the simulated employment setting.

[7]The South Asian sample was predominantly Hindu from India: smaller percentages of women from Pakistan, Bangledesh, Sri Lanka, East Africa, Guyana and Trinidad were also included. Moslem South Asians were under-represented in the sample; Christian South Asians over-represented. Anglo-Saxon respondents were "matched" with South Asians on a residential basis. The two groups were quite comparable on variables such as age, length of marriage, number of children, educational level, and family income.

[8]Fear of success: the disposition exhibited by North American women to become anxious about achieving success because of expected negative consequences (Horner, 1972).

[9]Karma: Sum of a person's actions in one of her/his successive states of existence, viewed as deciding one's fate in the next life; destiny.

[10]Dharma: Doing one's duty, right behaviour, virtue.

[11]Varna: Doing one's duty by the rules of caste or social class.

[12]This particular sample of South Asian women (N=105) was well educated; 81% had received high school education, 36% had the B.A. degree and 17% the M.A. degree. The presence of several universities in the area has attracted South Asian professional men. Since South Asians are highly likely to marry within their respective castes (upper caste in this case) males and females tend to be equally well educated.

[13]A term used by the Hon. Ruben Baetz, Minister for Culture & Recreation, Province of Ontario, in his address to the National Conference of the National Association of Indians of Origins in India, Toronto, September, 1978.

Table 1
Ranked Frequencies of Traits Describing South Asian Women Used by White Canadians (N=189)

Trait Description	Most Frequent[a]
Liked, positive	Beauty Grace Intelligence Femininity
Disliked, negative traits	Unfamiliar Odours (Food) Abrupt Mannerisms Traditional Customs (Dress, "Tikka") Accent, Home Language (Public use) Class Orientedness, Arrogance Ethnocentricity, Groupiness
Shifts from Positive, Liked Traits to Negative Disliked Traits	Quietness, politeness to - Aloof, Unfriendly, Lacking Vitality Commitment to Family to - Subservience to Men Some Admiration for Retention of Home culture to - Unwillingness to Integrate, Rigidity

Note: [a] In general negative comments had a stronger affective tone than positive comments.

Table 2

Degree[a] of Favourability of White Canadian Perceptions of South Asian Women

N = 189

Respondents	Highly Favourable		Favourable Direction		Neutral		Unfavourable Direction		Highly Unfavourable	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Student Males N=65	1	1.5	16	24.6	30	46.2	14	21.5	4	6.1
Student Females N=76	2	2.6	26	34.2	28	36.8	18	23.7	2	2.6
Non-Student Males N=11			1	9.1	6	54.5	2	18.2	2	18.2
Non-Student Females N=37	3	8.1	10	27.0	8	21.6	12	32.4	4	10.8

Note: [a]Based on judgments of balance between positive versus negative traits assigned; neutral point describes statements such as: "no comment," "can't judge," "don't know," "no contact," etc. Respondents in the neutral category generally had no contact with South Asian women.

Table 3
Rankings of Ethnic Stimulus Concepts on 8 Social Distance Dimensions using a Cross-Tabulation Method (Nie, et al., 1975)

	Semantic Differential			Behavioural Differential				
Ethnic Stimulus Concepts	Evaluation	Potency	Activity	Formal Social Acceptance	Friend-ship	Social Dis-tance	Marital	Super-Subor-dination
Anglo-Canadian	1	2	4	1	1	1	1	1
English Caucasian	2	3	1	2.5*	2	2.5*	3	2.5*
Southern European	6	4	2.5*	4	3	4	4	4
French Canadian	4	5	2.5*	2.5*	4	2.5*	2	2.5*
Oriental	3	6.5*	5	5.5*	5.5*	5	5	5
Black	5	1	6	5.5*	5.5*	6	6	6
South Asian	7	6.5*	7	7	7	7	7	7

Note: '1' = highest/most favourable rank
* indicates tied ranking

Table 4

Ranking of Hiring Decisions by Ethnic Stimulus Concept using a Cross-Tabulation Procedure (Nie, et al., 1975)

Ethnic Stimulus Concepts	% Yes	% No
Anglo Canadian	81.1	18.9
French Canadian	79.2	20.8
Oriental Canadian	76.8	23.2
American	74.5	25.5
Oriental Immigrant	70.4	29.6
South Asian Canadian	69.1	30.9
South Asian Immigrant	61.8	38.2

Note: Ethnic groups are listed in ranking order.

Table 5
Public School Children's Choices of Pictures Representing
Peers of European and South Asian Origins

Characteristics of Experimental Stimulus Pictures and Public School Children Respondents	PICTURES OF CHILDREN	RESPONDENTS (N=100)
	10-12 years old, male & female	10-12 years old, Grades 4-6
	Passport style, colour, standardized Photographic conditions	49 males, 51 females
	Average range attractiveness	Pupils in 2 local inner city schools
	Assigned familiar (Western) & unfamiliar (South Asian) names	European origins, Protestant
	Counterbalanced picture ordering	Middle-Lower social status levels
	Randomized R/L picture placement	English speaking
		Some European immigrant contacts

Forced Choice Dimensions	Ethnic Variable European vs South Asian	Sex Variable Male vs Female	Name Variable Familiar vs Unfamiliar
Preference by Experimental Variable & Item (social-dispositional traits)	European Pictures chosen on items of: has more friends is cleaner is better looking would invite to meet best friends would like to be leader in my class is smarter would choose as a friend is happier --- teases other children cheats	Pictures of girls chosen on items of: has more friends is cleaner would invite to meet best friends would invite to my home would like to be leader --- Pictures of boys chosen on items of: does more mean things is naughtier cheats more forgetful teases other children in my class is smarter	No clear choices between pictures assigned familiar (Western) names and unfamiliar (South Asian) names on 14-item test of social behaviour and dispositional traits.

Table 6
Attitudes Toward Canadian (Western) Values and Customs
(N=105 South Asians)*

Most Influence	F	%	Admire & Want	F	%	Dislike & Don't Want	F	%	Most Different From Home Culture	F	%	Want to Keep From Home Culture	F	%
educational aspirations	58	55.2	educational aspirations	64	61.0	ideas about family relationships	51	48.6	ideas on marriage	52	49.5	ideas about family relationships	65	61.9
opportunities for all	55	52.4	opportunities for all	54	51.4	ideas on marriage	44	41.9	ideas about family relationships	51	48.6	religious ideas	40	38.1
dress	36	34.3	dress	28	26.7	ideas about children	29	27.6	food & drink	36	34.3	ideas on marriage	36	34.4
social customs	36	34.3	privacy at social arrangements	20	19.1	ideas about material things	28	26.7	social customs	35	33.3	social customs	34	32.4

Note: For each attitude category respondents were asked to select four of twelve cultural values.

*Conservative estimates. Percentages are based on the total sample of 105; missing data have been ignored.

Figure 1: Basic Levels of Interdependent Beliefs (Buchignani, 1980)

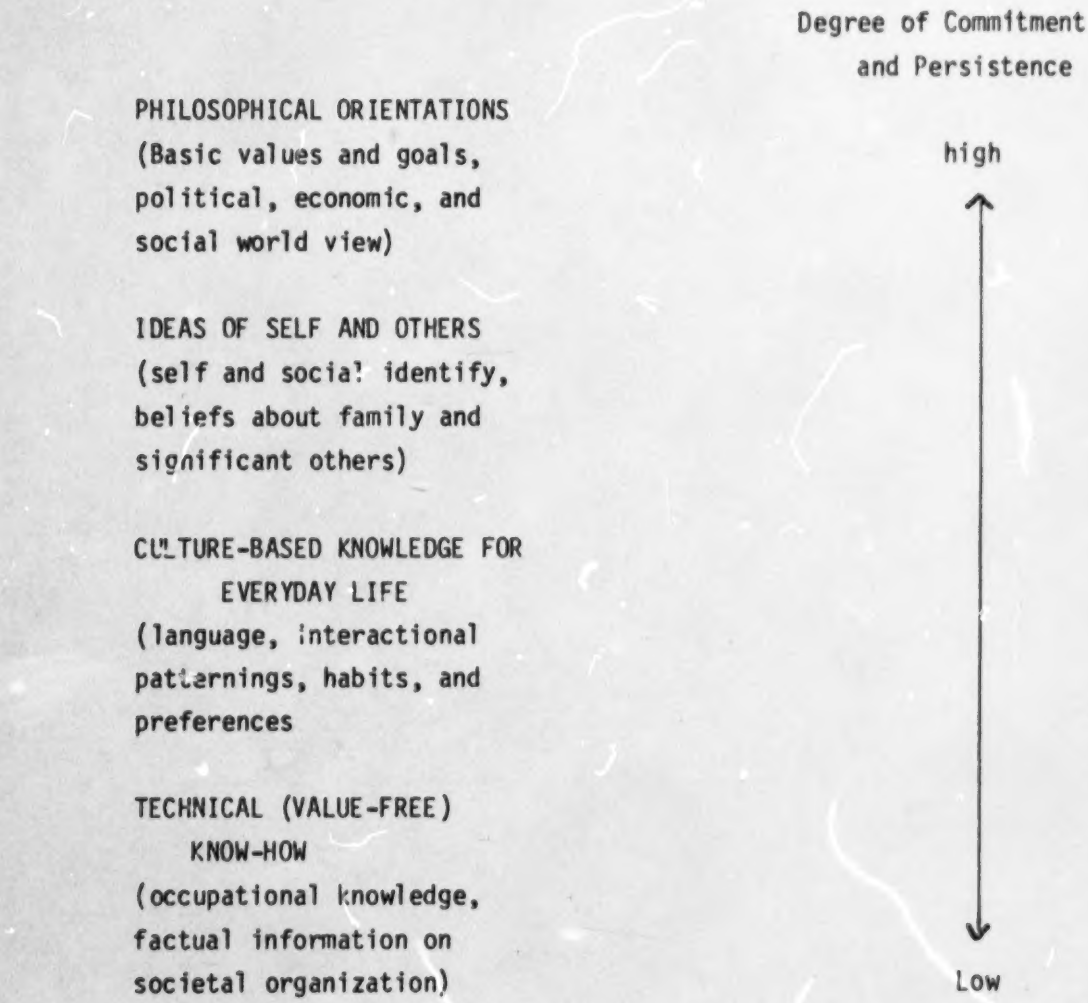


Figure II: Models of Ethnic Integration (Hughes & Kallen, 1974)

"IDEAL TYPE" MODELS	CONDITIONS	ACCULTURATION PROCESS
1. Anglo-Conformity	Renounce Ancestral Culture. Adopt Values, Life styles of majority.	One Way Process Subordination/Extinction of Identity
2. Melting Pot (American Ideal)	Extensive Social Interaction Blending of Cultures to Create New Society	Two Way Process New Identity
3. Cultural Pluralism* (Canadian Ideal)	Unspecified Degree of Integration by Minorities for Effective Participation in Institutions in Larger Society	Symbiotic Co-existence. Peripheral Contact Retain Identity

* (Multi-Culturalism or Mosaic)